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METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

OUR HOLY AND OUR BEAUTIFUL HOUSE

OUR HOLY AND OUR BEAUTIFUL HOUSE

YORK MINSTER HISTORICAL ADDRESSES

BY
THE REVEREND
CHANCELLOR G. AUSTEN
CANON RESIDENTIARY

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

EDITED BY
NAYAN LITTLE

WITHDRAWN FROM ST. MARYLEBONE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

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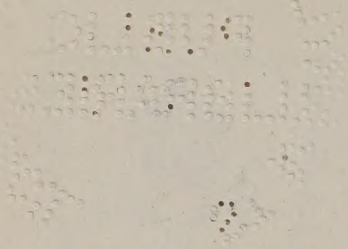

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PREFACE

My old friend Chancellor Austen has been asked to publish in a more permanent form the material which, from time to time, he has given as addresses in York Minster suggested by events in the long history of that noble cathedral.

Chancellor Austen has been an honoured member of its Chapter for forty years. His researches in the antiquities of the Minster have been a labour of love, and in these sketches he has presented some of the results of his labour in a picturesque and popular form. Multitudes every year visit York Minster or join in its worship, and among these visitors are many who appreciate its history and beauty and who will value having these sketches of the Minster's history in permanent form. Many visitors, I doubt not, will welcome a guide so vivid and sympathetic as the Chancellor, as he opens out to them these glimpses of old days in the life of one of the great churches of Christendom.

COSMO EBOR.

BISHOPTHORPE, YORK,
29 *June*, 1926.

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OUR HOLY AND OUR BEAUTIFUL HOUSE

I

YORK MINSTER: "OUR HOLY AND OUR BEAUTIFUL HOUSE"

"Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee."—ISAIAH lxiv. 11.

THESE words take us back to the ninth century before Christ. Captive Jews in Babylon are mourning the destruction of their glorious temple. Well might they lament! For God Himself was practically its architect. Its design and its details had been mostly based on "the pattern of the Tabernacle which had been shown by God to Moses on the Mount"—silver, gold, precious stones, and cedars had been lavished on its construction. Garments for "glory and beauty" were prescribed for the use of the priests. King David had chosen its site, so that a psalmist wrote of it as "beautiful for situation," for it was erected on a lofty plateau, and surrounded with deep valleys, and encircled with everlasting hills. Solomon had carried out his father's intentions, and had dedicated it with due solemnity. There and then God Himself had vouchsafed His special presence. The glory of the Lord had filled the Lord's house so that the priests could not stand to minister. From that time onward it became the nation's "holy and beautiful house," in which they

praised God. It was holy—separated from all common uses and dedicated to God alone. Holy—the All-Holy God was worshipped there. His worshippers were to be like Him—a holy people. But they had forsaken their God—profaned their temple—and were paying the penalty. They were captives in Babylon. This past story has its lessons and its warnings to us all. On these I do not propose to dwell. Rather let me invite you to meditate awhile on our own "holy and our beautiful house," in which our forefathers praised God. There are many points of view from which we might not unfittingly treat our Dedication Festival. Let the text guide our thoughts today.

The Minster is indeed "our holy house." It became such when in 627 the primitive wooden structure was consecrated to God and dedicated to St. Peter, and when King Edwin, St. Hilda of Whitby, and other relatives and courtiers were baptised; "our holy house" when the stone church, begun by Edwin and completed by Oswald, was restored by Wilfrid; "our holy house" when reconstructed by Thomas, the first Norman Archbishop; "our holy house" when remodelled and enlarged by Archbishops Roger, Walter de Gray, Romanus, Melton, and Thoresby; "our holy house" when completed in its present form in 1472, in the time of Archbishop Neville. It was then decreed by Dean Andrew and the Chapter that thenceforth the day of its reconsecration should be annually kept on the third of July. So there can be no doubt as to whether it is our own holy place, and whether our forefathers praised God in it, and whether the presence of the All-Holy God is not manifested in it. Neither is there any doubt as to whether everyone who has seen it or heard of it will not call it "our beautiful house."

Here let me remind you that our God is a God of beauty. He is its source and inspiration. It is part and parcel of His essence and nature. It is He Who

has planted in each of us ideas, tastes, and instincts which crave their satisfaction in objects that satisfy and give pleasure, delight, and joy. We may, and do, differ in some of our ideas of beauty, but all of us have such ideas implanted in us by the " Father of Lights," from whom " cometh every good and perfect gift." And so our God, in His love, has also provided us with objects in nature, with colours and sounds that awaken our ideas of beauty and satisfy our senses of sight and hearing. So, too, He has inspired some of His children (such as in old time Bezaleel) to execute works of art, painting, music, and sculpture and architecture. All these, if rightly meditated on, should lead us up to God, and help us to say with the Prophet Zechariah, " How great is His beauty ! "

Now I ask, may we not justly claim that our Minster is one of the most beautiful creations of art and man's device in the world ? What, then, are some of the elements that go to make up some of its beauties ? Here different people may differ, but let me try to offer some suggestions. Where shall we begin ? If the Temple at Jerusalem was " beautiful for situation," what of our Minster ? It does not stand on a conspicuous eminence like Durham or Lincoln. It lies nestling in the Valley of the Ouse amidst towns and villages, in encircling hills—the Hambletons, the wolds, and the spurs of the Pennines. It can be seen from afar—for some twenty or thirty miles. It is stated that it has been seen from Castle Hill, Huddersfield, but this needs verification. Thus it is the Mother Church to which her children may turn their devout gaze and be reminded of the prayers and praises that regularly ascend from there to the throne on their behalf.

Approaching it, observe the beauty of the west front as seen from Duncombe Place ; or survey it from the north-east angle of the walls whence you can trace its full length, or from the front of the Choir School.

There can be seen a variety of windows, both glazed and blind, such as you will hardly find elsewhere. Then note its form. Its builders throughout the centuries had certain ideas in their minds to which they gave practical expression. The nave, choir, and transepts, as elsewhere, in the form of a cross, remind us of that Cross in which we ought to glory. The three towers remind us of the holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, and the three principal porches at the west front remind us of the same Catholic truth. The chief entrance through the middle door tells us of Him Who said, " I am the door " ; and its united or double doors tell us of the two natures of our blessed Lord—perfect Godhead and perfect manhood. Look up before you enter and observe the flowing tracery of the great west window. It is in the form of a flaming heart, reminding us that those who worship should come with their whole hearts kindled with the fire of love.

As you enter the sacred building you are struck with its loftiness, its spaciousness, its massiveness ; you note the seven bays of the nave—not a casual arrangement, but the number which suggests perfection and completeness. Looking straight forward, you observe that the line of the nave differs from that of the choir. Here, as elsewhere, this deflection is intended to remind us of Him Who bowed His head when He died for us. Proceeding onwards, we admire the font, one of the most strikingly beautiful in the kingdom, with its exquisite Frosterley marble, standing on a base of black Belgian marble. Advancing and looking at the famous Five Sisters Window, we are told it is unique and amongst the most ancient we possess. Why five lights ? Is it not to remind us of the five wounds of our blessed Lord ? Standing beneath the lofty lantern tower, we must needs look upwards, and the soaring pillars and pointed arches suggest to us aspiration to heaven above. We breathe our Sursum Corda : " Lift

up your hearts." And turning to the south transept, we can hardly conceive any more exquisite combination of form and colour than that of the Early English windows of the clerestory, and the adjacent magnificent rose, or marigold, window. Should the sun then be shining in the south we are bathed in a flood of brilliant variegated light.

Then passing into the choir, we may take up the words of our own poet, Canon Wilton :

> "With wondering eyes we sit and gaze
> Upon the many-jewelled blaze,
> Where art has flung her mingled dyes,
> Outrivalling the Orient skies :
> Bird, rainbow, flower, and sunset rays."

In no cathedral in the world can we see such a variety of windows of every shade and shape. Fix your eyes on the great east window. Apart from its immense size, we may delight (if near enough) to try to drink in some of the beauties of its over two hundred glass pictures. And I, for one, cannot help thinking that the artist who designed and executed this glorious work wished to attach a symbolic meaning to the three contrasting shades of colour by which it is characterised. The prevalent darker shades of its lower part speak to us of earth. Above them are the light blue tints which speak to us of the sky, and above all are the pure white tints which speak to us of heaven and its holiness.

But our steps and thoughts are now led up to and fastened upon the altar, which witnesses to the sacrifice of the death of our Divine Lord, assures us of pardon and peace, and invites us to partake of the bread of life that satisfies our every need. Above it is placed the reredos, with its striking group of figures of persons present at the Crucifixion. As we gaze and ponder, should there not be borne in upon us a deepened sense of the love of God in sending His only Son to suffer and to die so painfully and so shamefully for our salvation ?

But there are other lesser beauties that go to make up the "glories of 'our beautiful house.'" What think you of such works of skilful craftsmen as the carving of our choir stalls, of the throne and the pulpit, with their crocketed pinnacles again suggesting aspiration; or of the rich stone canopies protecting the figures of our famous dead, and especially those which overshadow the figure of Archbishop Thomson, or the recumbent statue of Dean Duncombe, with the three watching choirboys at the feet, and the partly folded hands, moulded and chiselled in a wonderful way never before so perfectly executed; or those masterpieces of wrought iron which surround the font, and those which adorn the door of our Chapter House (to which I cannot further now refer, except as an annexe of matchless beauty of construction attached to our unrivalled house); or, again, such chaste embroideries as the new altar frontal in our St. Nicholas Chapel?

I further venture to add, if Almighty God prescribed "garments of glory and beauty" to be worn by the priests of old time, should we not allow that in such a stately house as this it is right and seemly in accordance with the law that the use of copes should be resumed?

I leave to the last a reference to the element of beauty that appeals to some most of all. We may not be touched so much by that which meets the eye as by that which meets the ear and so penetrates soul and spirit. I mean the music. We must remember that "our holy and our beautiful house" was not built to be admired for its beauties of form and colour, but for the highest of all uses—the worship of God. Chiefest among the elements of worship is that of praising Him. Chiefest because it is least selfish and it is everlasting. It is that which the captive Jews in Babylon singled out as the most to be lamented.

So, I trust, we never enter or leave it without ren-

dering in some form our tribute of praise. But how can we make it worthy of our God's acceptance? Do what we can as individuals, we fall short and fail, and so by a natural instinct we bring music to our aid. We may use our own voices to the extent of our power, but we also avail ourselves of the best trained voices we can obtain, and we render what is reputed to be the best sacred music that has come down to us from past centuries, and we make our praises more glorious by using the noblest and grandest musical instrument that skill of man has devised—the organ. On special occasions, as on St. Peter's Day and Military Sunday, we supplement them with the sounds of trumpet and drum.

These seem to me to be some of the leading beauties of this "our holy house." Might not all who enter or leave do well to use some such words as those recently printed for use in one of our cathedrals: "Praise God for His gifts of beauty in painting and architecture, handicraft and music, and ask that we who now live may build the spiritual fabric of the nation in beauty, goodness, and truth"?

God is Spirit, and we His children have to embody and reflect His beauties, which are spiritual and eternal. We have to be holy as He is, and as this "our house" is holy. We have to put on our beautiful garments, the garments of salvation, and the white robe of the righteousness of Christ. We have so to frequent and reverence "our holy and our beautiful house" that we may be ready to join our fathers, who for thirteen hundred years have praised God here and now give Him eternal praise in that heaven where there is no temple, but where our eyes shall, together with theirs, "see the King in His beauty" in the land which to all of us is not too far off.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 3 July 1921, the 449th anniversary of its completion.

II

YORK BIDDING PRAYERS FROM ANGLO-SAXON TIMES

Part I

Within some twenty-five years of our Lord's ascension, St. Paul is writing to one of his own children in the faith, to Timothy, Chief Pastor, Overseer, or, as we have it in our Authorised Version, Bishop of the Church at Ephesus. He is giving directions as to the qualifications, the duties, and the supply of successors and "fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God." But there are some general exhortations that come "first of all." They apply to all Christians, and refer to such ordering of public worship as is "acceptable to God."

What is thus enjoined? There are four particulars: supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgiving. St. Augustine says that these four relate to the liturgical form of administering Holy Communion. We say our own Liturgy is modelled on these lines; our Prayer for the Church Militant embodies them. Moreover, our ancient and present Bidding Prayers are formed upon similar lines. Our Minster Library possesses unique specimens of them in the original manuscript form, with one exception, and that is found in our copy of the very earliest printed book in the English language by Wynkyn de Worde. There are four of them, beginning with the one used in this church before the Norman Conquest. They are certainly the oldest prayers used in public worship in the language

spoken by our forefathers. They are not only interesting in themselves; they appeal to us as revealing the devotional aspirations of men and women who lived a thousand years ago and whose blood runs in the veins of some of us. At any rate, they are instructive from an historical, educational, doctrinal, and practical standpoint. They should also be helpful to us in our own devotional exercises and in our spiritual life.

But a few words must be premised as to the terms "bidding prayers" or rather "biddings of prayer." They were not so much forms of prayer as a bidding, or an earnest and authoritative calling upon the people aloud as to what to pray for. There might be many such subjects in one set of biddings, and so, as aids to memory, a little bead (a word almost identical, derived from the same root) came to be used as representing and reminding of every prayer so bidden. Thus "a counting of the beads" really meant "a praying of the prayers." This custom is still practised amongst some Mohammedans and other worshippers, as well as by Roman Catholics. I suspect that some such practice might be useful now to those whose memories are apt to fail, especially as age advances.

We can now understand how the persons who used to notify those biddings were called "beadsmen," and the names of the people to be prayed for were on the Bede Roll. Probably our Bedern Chapel is so called because the Minor Canons, or those who lived there before them, gave out the bidding of prayers in the Minster. There is evidence to show that from early times biddings of prayer were used on various occasions as prefacing public preaching or any religious instruction, and not necessarily as part of the Divine office of Holy Communion. It appears that, whilst, as the Christian faith spread throughout England, all those biddings were arranged upon the same general

lines, yet there were minor differences amongst them in different dioceses, as well as in certain ritual observances in ordering the public services. Hence, in the chief dioceses arose the different uses, i.e. customary forms of service. So we have the Sarum or Salisbury use, Hereford, Durham, Bangor, as well as the York and other uses. But whatever was the special form in use, these bidding prayers were always in the language spoken at the time by the people, and therefore understood by them. Hence their great importance. The Liturgy and the chief public offices in the Western Church were in the Latin tongue, known only by the learned few. This had its advantages, for whether the worshipper was in England, Gaul, or Rome, he could follow and enter into the services if sufficiently educated. But the majority of the people would be largely dependent upon these bidding prayers for instruction and progress in their personal devotional life.

Bearing all this in mind, let me now turn to comment upon the earliest of the bidding prayers used here that have come down to us. It takes us back some ten centuries to the times when Edward the Confessor and King Harold reigned. It was spoken, and is now to be read in our Minster library, in Anglo-Saxon. The words and phrases employed are the simplest possible. Some of them even in the modern English translation sound peculiar and unfamiliar. But for this very reason they awaken thought and are more expressive.

This, our most ancient bidding, begins by invoking Almighty God as " Heaven's High King." This particular title is as unique as it is significant. It appears nowhere in Scripture nor in our Prayer Book. But is it not appropriate ? The chief rulers of the nations in those days were kings, and were invested with supreme authority. But in prayer we come to one King over all, above all, highest of all ; King of kings, ruling in highest Heaven ; above Angels and Princi-

palities and Powers and Dominions, all alike subject to His High Sway. Then " put off thy shoes from off thy feet," draw near in deepest reverence and humble self-abasement, yet, with full assurance of confident faith, for is there any favour which He, the All-Highest, cannot grant out of the treasures of His bounty and omnipotence ?

Then what is the first favour to be sought ? I quote literally : " That we may God's will work whilst in this transitory life we continue, and that we may be shielded against all enemies' temptations, visible and invisible." Is not this all-inclusive ? Does it not compress into two sentences the substance of the Prayer that Christ Himself has taught us ? Be this all granted, what else is needed for us, whether in time or eternity ? So this was appropriately followed at once by a Paternoster, spoken in Latin. Everyone present would at least understand that, the best of all prayers. Moreover, it appears that, whilst the people stood at all these biddings, as we do, they always knelt when the Paternoster was said. We, too, today follow the old plan and kneel at the Lord's Prayer. In fact, it was not customary to kneel at public prayer till the thirteenth century.

There were four separate biddings in this earliest of the prayers. The second of them is of an intercessory character, mentioning first " our Pope in Rome," then " our King, our Archbishop, and the Alderman." Note here that the person here and thus referred to was not then, as now, a civil official, but the chief minister of the Minster clergy, sometimes called Abbas. There was no such dignitary as Dean then. His title and appointment were introduced at a subsequent date, in 1090, by Archbishop Thomas, formerly of Bayeux, after the Norman Conquest, and about five years after the foundation of the Chancellorship, though this office and title had been held by Alcuin in the eighth century.

Next prayers were asked " for all those who with us hold peace and friendship on the four sides towards this holy place," or as we should now say within the Minster Close or Precincts, originally strictly enclosed on its four sides and provided with four separate entrances. Then were added the words " for all those that pray for us within or without the English nation." There is a truly Catholic or even international ring in this that leaves nothing to be desired. Another Paternoster followed here, as well as after all other biddings. Let not this be regarded as vain repetition, but view it in the light of the doctrine of intention, which played such an important part in mediæval and even current theology. It presupposes that the object for which the prayer is offered should be kept in mind and in spirit throughout, and that all the phrases should be employed with special reference to it.

The third bidding invites prayers " for our gossips and our Godfathers." Note how the old word has changed and debased its meaning and application. Formerly it had nothing to do with tittle-tattling, but denoted a solemn and responsible spiritual relationship and the duties attaching to it, as it still ought to do. Think you, however, that this is really generally borne in mind in the choice of Godparents ? And do those of us who have consented to accept and enter into this relationship pray for their Godchildren ? Some do not even remember the names which they were given at their baptism—they may have forgotten them altogether.

After this came a bidding for " our Gild-fellows and Gild-sisters." This is interesting, showing that in Anglo-Saxon times gilds existed in connection with our Minster. The word " gild " means a money payment. It indicates that a fee was paid by every member entering the brotherhood or sisterhood. There were different gilds for different purposes—religious,

secular, and later on commercial gilds. They are referred to in the Laws of King Edgar about the year 950. Their chief purpose was mutual help both for this world and for the next. Their members in most cases were bound to look after their sick, and when they died attend the funeral and pray for the repose of the soul of the departed.

After this, prayers were bidden " for all those who seek [i.e. visit] this holy place with alms, light, and tithe, and for all those whose alms were ever received during their life and after it," i.e. by testamentary bequests. A special form for the commemoration of benefactors was used in the Church in the earliest times. Some such commemoration still takes place every quarter in the Chapel Royal at Windsor, and the College Chapels at Oxford and Cambridge. It was specially provided for in the reign of our Queen Elizabeth. Might not a commemoration suitable to our present conditions be still retained and be in use amongst us where the practice has fallen into abeyance ?

After a third Paternoster comes a blank in our original manuscript. Doubtless it contained the names of persons on the Bede Roll, and invited prayers for all souls described as " having received baptism and having believed in Christ from Adam's time to this day." This clause opens out subjects that go down to the inmost depths of loving hearts. Opinions amongst us differ both in theory and practice. Whilst I hope all of us keep All Saints' Day, others are less clear and definite in their observance of All Souls' Day. Let us be faithful to the teaching of our Book of Common Prayer. In our Service of the Holy Communion we ask God to grant " that we, with all His servants who have departed this life in His faith and fear, may be partakers in His Heavenly Kingdom." In like manner in our Service for the Burial of the Dead we pray " that we, with all those that have departed

in the true faith of Thy Holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in Thy Eternal Glory."

Our ancient bidding prayer closed with a final Paternoster.

As we hear these earliest bidding prayers in our mother-tongue, and as we ponder their quaint wording and historical references, do we not feel that they have much to teach us? They should educate, warn, stimulate, quicken, hearten, and inspire us to press on, and maybe in some cases to correct what is wrong, to strengthen what is right, and supply what may have been wanting of some of our devotions. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear and heed.

And as we listen to the prayings and sayings and doings of our godly fore-elders in centuries long past, is it not well to bear in mind that they, "alive unto God," are still united to us by the closest possible bonds, both vital and eternal? It is no small privilege for us to meet together in the same holy and beautiful house in which they used to assemble, but we also recite the same Creeds which they repeated; we believe in the same God—Father, Saviour, and Sanctifier; we avail ourselves of the same means of grace which they enjoyed; we belong to the same Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. Only we are still members of the Church Militant, whilst they have passed into the Church Triumphant. But there is one great solemn practice in common and in communion with them by the Grace of God so far as our present limitations enable us. It is that highest form of reverential worship which involves our whole personality, spirit, soul, mind, heart, will, yea, and body, too. One word expresses it all—adoration. It is hard to attain—harder still to sustain. Strive earnestly to cultivate and to develop it. So striving shall we best be ready to join those who have gone before us in that blessed state

where all the Company of Heaven, men and angels, are revealed falling before the throne on their faces, worshipping God and saying: "Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen."

This sermon was preached in York Minster 6 July 1924.

Part II

"Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith."
Hebrews x. 22.

The inspired author has been explaining to Hebrew Christians, and so to Christians of all times, how the Church of Jesus Christ contains and reveals the substance of all that was shadowed forth in the Jewish Church. Its leading features were the Sanctuary or Holy of Holies, the high priesthood, and the sacrifices. All these are fulfilled in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It has the true sanctuary, where God's presence is vouchsafed. It has the true High Priest, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and for ever. It has its sacrifices, all summed up in Jesus Christ Himself, Who offered Himself for the sins of the world. Then: what follows? It is the privilege of all Christian people to avail themselves of free access to God in Jesus Christ. So the writer begins his practical application of the truths here insisted on, in the words of the text, "Let us draw near to God." It is an all-embracing expression, including all kinds of worship—prayer, praise, intercession, and thanksgiving. But again, what is essential in this drawing near to worship? There are two requirements. First, a true heart. Here, as elsewhere, the heart implies and expresses the character of the person. It must be real, genuine, undivided in its allegiance, with no reserve of feeling. Further, we must approach God with "full assurance of faith,"

faith in the historic Christ, in His Incarnation, Cross, and Passion; in His all-atoning sacrifice; in His Resurrection and Ascension; in His session at God's right hand as our mediator and intercessor, where He hears and answers our prayers. Friends, these essential requirements must be ever before us, in all our acts of worship; let me say especially in our intercessions, for our spirits may be less keenly interested in our prayers for others than those we offer for ourselves.

Now apply all this to our Bidding Prayers. And here let me resume our meditations upon those formerly used in this Minster and diocese. I have already dealt with the earliest one that has come down to us, and used by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. There was a long interval between this and the next one known to us, dated 1405, viz. about four hundred years afterwards. By this time the Norman and Anglo-Saxon races had become united; English in its simplest form had begun to be used. The chief services in church were still recited in Latin, but the biddings of prayers were called for in English. The first form we have now to consider is found in a manuscript copy of our York Manual, i.e. a book with the occasional offices apart from Holy Communion. It begins, not as before, with an invitation "Let us pray," but with a command: "Ye shall make your prayers to our Lord God Almighty, to His Blessed Mother Mary, and to all the holy court of heaven, for the state and stableness of the whole Holy Church." As to the persons to whom this prayer is addressed, not mentioned in the earlier Anglo-Saxon form, the Blessed Virgin and saints, questions of doctrine arise. Are these additions Scriptural? The Reformation dealt with them and omitted them. But the latter clause obviously suggested similar words in our present prayer for "the whole estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth."

Then after reference to the Pope and his Cardinals, here first mentioned, the Archbishop of York and others, and " all men and women of religion," are to be prayed for. This is explained as meaning members of a private confraternity or association bound by the rules of a monastic or other order. Then is specified the " persons," or, as we now say, the parsons, " and all those that have your souls to keep." Can any words more solemnly express the grave responsibility which we clergy have undertaken ? Precious and immortal souls are committed to our charge. Our duty is to tend them ; to lose none of them ; to look after each one of them as a good shepherd keeps his flock. Well may we say, " Lord, have mercy upon us ; Lord, be our Helper." The clause that follows is no less solemnising : " God lend them grace to govern their people well and set them example of what may be loving to God and bring salvation to their souls." We note that grace is lent or sent to us. Therefore we have to give account for it to God, and repay Him in adequate form what He has lent us. We clergy should be " good stewards of the manifold grace of God."

A bidding followed for " those who loyally and truly pay their tends [i.e. their tithes] and offerings, and give amendment to those who do otherwise." Maybe this reference to need of amendment in regard to offerings to God applies to some of us, and to some in every congregation. The next biddings are also now not out of date. " Ye shall pray for those who built this church and uphold it, and for those who provide the books, chalices, and other adornments, and for them that give holy bread and hold on longest," a quaint and telling expression. The holy bread referred to is not that prepared for the Holy Communion, but that which was originally provided in the primitive Church for the love-feasts, and afterwards superseded by bread specially blest (hence called in French *pain*

béni) and taken round in baskets to the congregation. This custom still prevails in some parts of the Continent. It was after a time generally abolished as misleading, being thought by some to be a substitute for the bread solemnly consecrated in Holy Communion and dispensing with the necessity of devoutly receiving it in the Holy Sacrament. Then followed biddings, some of which are incorporated into our Litany, with interesting additions and alterations, and not all improvements, e.g. "For all land-tillers and seafarers." Then for "the weather, that the earth may bring forth fruit to profit Christian men"—suggestions surely of its possible misuse. Then "for pilgrims and palmers," and all that "go good gates," a peculiar phrase meaning travellers making long journeys. Then "for all that make or mend bridges and streets"; described as "good works," and pointing to the difficulties of travel when roads were few and bad and circuitous, and streams and rivers unfordable blocked the way. "For all parishioners by land and water, that God would save them from all missauntors," i.e. misadventures; then "for all women with child, that God would deliver them with joy and give the child christening and them purification." Have we now got beyond the stage of not needing these reminders? Then "for all those that are sick or sorry [note the word], that God would comfort them; for those in good life [or health], that God would hold them therein." Hold—another important and suggestive petition. Lastly, "for them that are in debt, deadly sin, or prison, that God would bring them out thereof." I feel certain that some of us would do well seriously to lay to heart and practise with intensity of purpose some of these old biddings. It was then bidden "for charity to say for those thus specified, for ourselves, and for all Christian folk, a Paternoster and an Ave." An "Ave" was here for the first time introduced. Need I add

that this (meaning " Hail ") is the first word in the Latin form of salutation of the Angel to the Blessed Virgin ? The original form in which it was used in the Anglo-Saxon Church was purely historical, being a literal quotation from St. Luke's Gospel : " Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed be thou among women, and blessed be the fruit of thy womb." Additions to this, of a precatory nature, were made about the middle of the thirteenth century. But these, together with all devotions to the Mother of our Lord, were removed at the Reformation from our Book of Common Prayer.

It may be stated here that in the last of our York Minster Bidding Prayers, dated 1509, five Ave Marias were to be said, so rapid was the spread of this form of devotion.

I now pass on to consider together briefly the two next biddings found in manuscript in our Library, one in a longer and the other in a shorter form. They are on similar lines to those already dealt with, but show verbal and historical changes, and some doctrinal advances, such as prayers for the advocacy of the Blessed Virgin and for souls " in purgatory." With the Pope are coupled " all his true Cardinals," obviously inserted when there were two rival Popes, each with his own College of Cardinals mutually denouncing each other, one living at Rome, and the other at Avignon. This Papal schism began in the reign of our King Richard II, and was largely owing to political differences among the nations of Europe. It lasted over fifty years, and ended in 1429, when Clement VIII renounced the Pontificate.

Prayers were also then bidden " for the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and for the holy Cross that God was done upon, and that God for His mercy would bring it out of heathen hands into Christian men's keeping." The words remind us of the Crusades, which brought the

peoples of Western Europe into close touch with the chief Christian authority in the Holy Land, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. They lasted nearly three hundred years, and had come to an end with the death of St. Louis of France. Though many years had elapsed since then, there was still a longing in Christian hearts for the possession of the Holy City and the recovery of the Cross. So our mediæval forefathers prayed about it. Let us ever have in mind St. Paul's noble aspiration, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," and let those who wear a cross upon the breast, men and women, perhaps as a comely ornament, have it deeply engraven upon the heart together with all it stands for. Then "our Archbishop and other bishops" were prayed for, and a peculiar and striking clause was added, that God would give them "the grace of perseverance in honest and clean religious keeping." I wonder what this exactly meant and why it was added.

The next petition is worth emphasising in our days. It is that those who have the care of souls should have "grace to teach and work" for such helpful teaching, that "both teachers and taught may come to lasting bliss." How far do we clergy now act on this? Well might our Archbishops appoint a Committee of Inquiry to report on the teaching office of the Church. I fear that no little of the prevalent indifference to religion is due to the neglect of the Church to give suitable teaching on the evidences and principles of the Christian faith and also an outline of the history of the Church and of the Book of Common Prayer. May the time be not far distant when a Minster official is appointed to resume the duties in connection with religious education, which attached to the Chancellorship under Alcuin in the eighth century and were carried on in Norman times and for many successive generations, until put in abeyance by comparatively recent legislation.

Now, for the first time, prayers were bidden for " the Mayor, the twelve [i.e. the aldermen], the sheriffs, and the twenty-four [so called whether more or less (a term then well understood as denoting those who had been sheriffs)], and for all good commoners of the city, that God would give them grace to rule the city well, that it may be God-loving and bring profit and help to the commoners." This is a high ideal, worth pondering and repeating. It should be observed that now also for the first time this shortened form begins with the words " Dear friends." Our Lord called not only His disciples but the multitude His friends. St. Paul more than once writes that he " had his people in his heart." Here are truths of primary importance. If a ministry is to be fruitful and blessed, they who exercise it should use this familiar appeal, not as a mere conventional form of address, but as expressing real, heart-deep feelings, which their people should try to reciprocate.

The closing bidding in this abbreviated form is also noteworthy. " Ye should pray specially for all souls that have most need to be prayed for and have fewest friends." How wide and how difficult, and how much neglected, is this field of intercession.

The last of our York pre-Reformation Bidding Prayers is dated 1509. It is found in one of the earliest books by Wynkyn de Worde, a rare copy of which is in the Minster Library. It varies little from those already considered, and therefore it need not detain us.

Within twenty-five years of its publication, the movements for reform in England begun by Wycliffe and the Lollards in 1356, and followed up on the Continent by Huss, Savonarola, Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin, were undertaken upon official lines under King Henry VIII. A long chain of events made a breach with Rome inevitable. It was impossible to check the general discontent, or the longing of earnest men

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to reform abuses or the literary influence of the revival of learning. With the authority of the Convocations of Canterbury and York and the authority of Parliament, the Papal jurisdiction was abolished and the Royal Supremacy established (so far as the law of the Church allows). In 1534 the word "Pope" was erased from all public documents. In 1549 the first Prayer Book of Edward VI was put forth. This was revised in a Protestant direction in 1552. Ten years after, Articles—thirty-nine in number, based on forty-two framed by Cranmer and Ridley—were agreed upon. These are described as containing "the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's word." Later on, in 1604, Canons Ecclesiastical were drawn up by Convocation. These, together with the Book of Common Prayer, are the Rules and Laws of the Church of England. In 1611 the Authorised Version of the Holy Bible (a revision of many former translations into English) was published.

Here it may be noted that the fifty-fifth of the above Canons Ecclesiastical supplies a bidding prayer upon similar lines to that which is now customarily used in this Cathedral. Further, it authorises the clergy to bid prayers "in this form or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may." In accordance with this permission, special biddings suitable to the occasion or to the circumstances of the times are often introduced before the prayer for the Church Militant.

As a last word, let me urge that we all earnestly strive duly to exercise our priestly functions and offer our bidding prayers and all our devotions, public and private, deliberately, undistractedly, thoughtfully, and fervently, as well as "with a true heart, in full assurance of faith." Only so can they be effectual.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 3 August 1924.

III

THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

"For Christ's sake."—2 CORINTHIANS xii. 10.

IT has pleased His Majesty the King to confer a special mark of favour upon the honoured head of this Minster. We hail our Dean as a Chaplain of the Knights of the Order of St. John, of which our Archbishop is Prelate. It seems therefore appropriate that the story of this distinguished Order should be at least outlined here. It is fraught with lessons of devoted service and sacrifice, never more needed than in these our times.

We can all enter into the reasons which led the people in the first Christian days to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. We can understand how, when our York-born Constantine became Roman Emperor and was converted to Christianity, his mother Helena, though aged fourscore, undertook the long journey, and how her supposed discovery of the Cross on which our Saviour died stimulated these pilgrimages. And so in the early Christian centuries arrangements were made for the hospitable reception of travellers at Jerusalem, and for the care of their sick and suffering. At all events, the Emperor Charlemagne, about A.D. 800, founded a hospital in the Holy City. This was afterwards destroyed by the Mohammedans; but in the early part of the eleventh century some merchants of Amalfi, an Italian seaport, obtained leave of the Moslem Caliph to purchase the old site. On it they re-formed and re-founded a hospital for pilgrims, and

established a brotherhood, which was in the first instance dedicated to John surnamed the Almoner. He was born at Cyprus early in the seventh century, and became Patriarch of Alexandria. He had sent food and help to Christians at Jerusalem in time of famine, and was widely celebrated for his charitable acts towards the poor and afflicted. For some years this good brotherhood continued unmolested its useful work for men and women, but the capture of Jerusalem by the ferocious Turkomans, before the Norman Conquest, brought with it a disastrous change in the treatment of Christians. Revolting cruelties were inflicted upon them by the new conquerors. The indignation thus aroused throughout Christian Europe led to the crusades.

Fired by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and by the eloquent oration of Pope Urban at Clermont, and by his promised blessing, Godfrey de Bouillon gathered a large army, composed of the flower of European chivalry. He advanced to Palestine and captured Jerusalem in 1099. His wounded soldiers were there treated with skill and devotion by the members of the Hospice, who called themselves the Poor Brethren of the Hospital of St. John. They were then an exclusively healing or nursing brotherhood. In grateful acknowledgment of these services Godfrey and the more wealthy Crusaders made generous gifts of lands and money to the Hospital.

Thus encouraged, their saintly rector, by name Gerard, organised the Hospitallers into a regularly constituted religious order—to be clad in a black habit adorned with a spotless white cross ; but later on the knights wore scarlet surcoats, with a white cross front and back. Many such establishments then began to be formed throughout Europe. In 1113 Pope Pascal II formally recognised the Order. Five years after this Gerard died and was succeeded by Raymond de Puys,

who became the first Grand Master. As constant dangers still menaced Christian travellers, he maintained that the brethren should not only be ready to live for the cause of the pilgrims and invalids, but willing, if necessary, to die in their defence. And so, in accordance with his counsel and the sanction of the Pope, the Order was reconstituted, and divided into men for war, men for prayer, and men for work, viz., Knights of Justice, Chaplains, and Serving Brothers. With them were associated Dames of St. John. Hospitals for the sick and the poor were soon founded in England and elsewhere, and members were pledged to apply themselves to the advancement of the faith and to the service of mankind. Their motto was " Pro fide," to which " Pro utilitate hominum " has been added.

Later on, probably in the earliest days of the Crusaders, a patron saint was desired of a wider name and fame than the Almoner, and John the Baptist was chosen, and throughout the subsequent ages he has been recognised as the Patron of the Order. Within a few years (1118) the renown and successes of the Hospitallers led to the formation of the brother Order—the Knights Templars—but this was always a purely military association.

After a while the mighty Saladin appeared on the scene. He soon made known his intentions. He wrote to our Richard Cœur de Lion : " Jerusalem is as much to us, my King, as to you yourselves, and more. It is the place where our prophet made his night ascent to heaven, and it will be the gathering-place of our nation at the day of judgment." To win back the Holy City from the Christians was Saladin's supreme ambition. Dissensions which had sprung up amongst the Crusaders helped him to carry out his purpose. He was not only fired with religious ardour, but endowed with military genius. At the fatal battle

of Tiberias in 1187 the Crusaders suffered a crushing defeat. The Knights of St. John and the Templars shed their last drop of blood in defence of the faith. The heroic Grand Master of the Hospitallers was mortally wounded ; Jerusalem surrendered ; the chivalrous Saladin offered the Brethren and Knights freedom and wealth if they would renounce the Cross. They chose death rather than life. But he allowed the few survivors who remained in the city to ransom the poor townsfolk and to tend the sick and wounded. However, the Order itself was expelled. Their beautiful Church of St. John the Baptist was converted by the Saracens into a madhouse, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre became a Moslem mosque. The ladies of the Order returned to Europe and carried on their nursing duties. A sisterhood of the Order was founded at Bucklands, in Somerset, and branch establishments elsewhere.

The headquarters were then transferred to Mayat, and afterwards to St. Jean d'Acre. In both places the members resumed their work of tending the sick and poor and protecting the Christian pilgrims.

It is not my purpose to follow in detail the course of the Crusaders or the fortunes of the Hospitallers. Suffice it to say that serious disputes took place between the Knights of St. John and the Templars, leading to a pitched battle. From that time the fortunes of the Order as a military power waned. But when the barbarous Turkomans recaptured Jerusalem, the two Orders fought side by side at Gaza for two days. At the end of the battle only thirty Templars and sixteen Hospitallers remained. The remnants of the Order settled at Acre, associated with the memories of our Richard and St. Louis, King of France. After a while this town was besieged and captured by the Moslems. The few survivors cut their way to their ships through an opposing squadron of the enemy.

Thus these Christian heroes departed from the Holy Land, defeated in battle but unshaken in faith and unbroken in courage.

With their departure ended the great Crusades which had lasted nearly two centuries. The remnant of the Hospitallers first took refuge in Cyprus, and afterwards established themselves in Rhodes till that island was captured by the Turks. They were then befriended by the Emperor Charles I, who conferred on the Order the Sovereignty of the Island of Malta. There they long remained, adding to their renown ; till the time of the French Revolution and the days of Napoleon, when the Knights of the Order returned to their own countries, and their Master retired to Trieste, taking with him some of the cherished relics of the Order.

Before passing on it may be appropriate to mention that previous to the fire of 1829 there was in our Minster near the south-west pier of our lantern tower a recumbent stone effigy of a cross-legged Crusader, Sir Robert de Maulay, of Mulgrave. The figure seems to have been mutilated at the fire. The remains were removed and acquired by a Sir S. Meyricke, and set up at Goodrich Court, near Monmouth. Their present whereabouts are unknown. Would that they might be recovered and restored to us ! It should be further noted that in our famous Heraldic or Peter Dene window, put in about 1306, a Knight Hospitaller is shown facing a Knight Templar. Both are habited in the customary costume. It is interesting to remember that the Order of the Templars was suppressed by Pope Clement V in 1312, and its property in England given to the Hospitallers.

So far I have dealt with the story of the Order of the Knights of St. John in general ; but its record in regard to our own country remains to be sketched.

Soon after the Crusaders carried Jerusalem by storm early in the twelfth century, the headquarters of the

English branch were established in what was then the village of Clerkenwell, London. There a hospital and a convent and a church were built, dedicated by the then Patriarch of Jerusalem. The crypt beneath the choir of this church still remains, and here the Order has its chapel, where the Holy Communion is annually celebrated on St. John Baptist's Day. In these ancient buildings such of the brethren who were not away fighting applied themselves to peaceful pursuits. They added to their medical and surgical attainments. They interested themselves in agriculture and education. They entertained Royal guests, including Henry II, Edward I and his Queen Eleanor. In the reign of Richard II (1381) the mob under Wat Tyler attacked and burnt the church buildings of the community and destroyed its valuable library. The Grand Prior was beheaded on Tower Hill. The Priory was rebuilt after this, and there for a long time our King Henry V sojourned, and contemplated taking the cross to free the Holy Sepulchre. There, too, our Richard III, famous in the history of York, held a royal council in its great hall.

Then under Henry VIII came the suppression of monasteries and the confiscation of their goods. We are told by Fuller in his *Holy War* that " the Hospitallers, being gentlemen and soldiers of ancient family, would not present to you such puling petitions as other Orders had done." Of their own accord they resigned their Priory and Hospital; the greater number of the knights, being military men, escorted their brethren to Malta, but four of their number became martyrs, and were executed for refusing to accept the King's orders. Under Protector Somerset the whole of the buildings and the church of St. John were blown up, and only the Gothic crypt and chancel remain. Under Queen Mary the charter and privileges of the Order were revived, but only to be finally withdrawn by Queen

Elizabeth, who not only annexed its property to the Crown, but conferred the Priory upon her Master of the Revels.

Then the English branch, though unable to help at Malta, was represented there, and was for many years dormant. But after the fall of Napoleon the French knights and barons, acting in connection with the Spanish knights, sent representatives to the Congress of Vienna and suggested the revival of the English Order, with certain necessary alterations. This suggestion was effected in 1831, when this ancient and distinguished Order was reconstituted for England, with the King as Sovereign Head, with a Prior and Sub-Prior, with Knights and Ladies of Justice, Knights and Ladies of Grace, Prelates and Sub-Prelates, Bailiffs, and Lay Brethren and Sisters. Then followed the foundation and maintenance of cottage hospitals and convalescent homes, the formation of instruction classes for training skilled nurses, the establishment of ambulance associations in railway centres and mining districts, and the formation of the St. John Ambulance Brigade and other developments. Special mention must be made of the foundation and support of the Hospice and Ophthalmic Dispensary at Jerusalem. In consideration of the valuable services thus being done, Queen Victoria granted a new charter to the English Order in 1888. Now its beneficent work extends to all parts of the Empire. The British Army Council has officially testified that its services in the recent war greatly assisted in the restoration of health to the sick and wounded, and contributed in no small degree to the achievement of victory. It should be mentioned that an arrangement has been recently made whereby the Order in England and the British Red Cross Society now work together under one control, and that their chief object is defined as " the promotion and improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the

mitigation of suffering throughout the world—whether in peace or in war."

Then, as to the eight-pointed cross which has been the badge of the Order of St. John since 1120. All who wear it should be reminded of what was from ancient times supposed to be represented by the four chief arms of the cross, viz., the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude. The eight points are deemed to correspond with the eight beatitudes as recorded in the Sermon on the Mount. The cross itself was ordained white as a sign of purity, and was to be borne without stain or spot—outwardly on the dress and also inwardly in the heart.

The Chapter of the English Order has added a further secular significance to the eight points, having special reference to the essential qualities of all who aid in ambulance work. They are: observation, tact, resource, dexterity, explicitness, discrimination, perseverance, and sympathy.

And now, some may be thinking, what has all this to do with our duty and our daily life? The answer is clear. See what has been done in just one direction "for Christ's sake." What (I ask) led the aged Helena to visit Palestine and to explore Bethlehem, Olivet, and Calvary, and search for the Cross? It was for Christ's sake. The love of Christ constrained her. Why was the hospice established in the Holy City for the reception and treatment of pilgrims? It was for Christ's sake. Why did Charlemagne found his institution for the sick and suffering? For Christ's sake. Why was the Order of the Poor Brethren originally organised? For Christ's sake. Why was John the Almoner chosen to be the Patron? For Christ's sake. He had freely given his goods to feed the poor and pity the afflicted. He believed in One Who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." What led the

Amalfi merchants to rebuild the Hospital of the Cross? It was for Christ's sake, to provide a safe place of sojourn in a Moslem land for pilgrims who for Christ's sake had come from afar. What led the Crusaders to band together in a league of Christian nations? It was for Christ's sake. They gloried in the Cross. They realised the price paid for their salvation. What could they do to show their faith in a living, loving Saviour? Love so amazing, so divine, demanded their life, their all. They were ready to spend and be spent, to pour out their treasure, to face privation and suffering, to shed their blood, for Christ's sake, Who had shed His precious blood for their sake.

Just so, too, when the Order of St. John was founded and enlarged, the same spirit animated civilians and soldiers—women and men. All could not or would not fight, but all could serve their country and brethren, and take up the cross as the Crusaders did for Christ's sake and for humanity's sake. All could not only wear the cross as their honoured badge, but illustrate it in their life, for His sake Who spoke the parable of the Good Samaritan, pouring on oil and wine to heal the wounded and fallen.

And when, as the years went on and a greater John was desired as Patron of the Order, who could more appropriately be chosen than the Baptist? Why? Because he was the herald of Christ. He was the first to proclaim Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ and the Lamb of God that was to take away the sin of the world. He had left home and kindred, and led a life of mortification and self-denial, to prepare the way of the Lord. He had dared with undaunted courage to speak the truth and suffer for humanity's sake. He had been imprisoned and beheaded practically for Christ's sake. Crusaders, Hospitallers, and Templars who wore the cross must be ready to follow the example of the Forerunner of Christ—leave home, face perils,

carry the cross, and perhaps suffer and die for Christ's sake.

And so throughout all the changes in the history of the Order the same spirit has characterised it down to the present time, and animates it still. Never has this been more conspicuously shown both to friend and foe than in the late war, and in all these wonderful developments that have taken place in connection with the work of the Hospitallers and of the Red Cross. Why throughout our war areas and elsewhere did nurses in hospitals, ambulance bearers, and other helpers render such splendid services, often at the risk of their lives? Why did devoted associates labour at home to supply the needs of our soldiers at the front? Not only for humanity's sake and for the country's sake, but really and ultimately, though maybe in a few cases unconsciously, for Christ's sake. No more striking testimony to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessing of the Gospel to the world could be afforded than that given by the Order of St. John. What has been done for the welfare of humanity, for the sake of Buddha, for the sake of Mohammed, or for Confucius' sake, whatever has been done by non-Christians, as in Japan, has originated really in imitating and adopting what was being done elsewhere by Christians for Christ's sake.

Suffer me, as a last word, to suggest that everyone here present should put to himself, and that in no casual way, this: "What have I done for Christ's sake? What am I doing for Christ's sake?" Face this question now. We shall have to face it at the great day.

The sermon was preached in York Minster 31 July 1921.

IV

RELIGIOUS DANCING IN YORK MINSTER

For some years past, references in the press and elsewhere have been made to the dancing that formerly took place in York Minster. Our first thought was one of surprise—if not of incredulity—that any such practice should have been allowed here. We wondered why and when it was first started, what exact form it took, and how it could have been regarded as an element of Christian worship. The subject demands attention. What underlies it has a direct bearing upon the religious life of every Christian.

Some of us have pleasant memories of Canon Julian, the learned author of the *Dictionary of Hymnology*. In that standard work, under the article of "Carols," explained as meaning originally a "ring dance with musical accompaniment," it is stated that on Shrove Tuesday "the apprentices and servants of York were accustomed to dance in the Minster, and this practice was continued till towards the end of the seventeenth century." Many inquiries were made as to this statement, but no information was forthcoming. Recently, however, light has been thrown upon it. Amongst the Dodsworth MSS. in the Bodleian Library is a note which sets forth that "the tenants of the Prebend of Dunnington daunce about ye lectern in York Minster on Thursday in Whitsun Week." It looks as if this, or some similar note, had been seen by the writer of the above article. But the references to Dunnington, the lectern, and Whitsun Week are new and important.

It appears that the Prebendary of Dunnington was

also Lord of the Manor, and, according to the custom of these early times, had " certain bondservants holding properties of his by rendering bodily service." It may be that the dancing spoken of by Dodsworth was originally part of the corporal service rendered by those Dunnington servants. Further, it is said to have taken place at Whitsuntide, not on Shrove Tuesday, though we are to hear that elsewhere it took place at Whitsuntide. Then we do not know exactly where the lectern stood in those days. Further, Dodsworth alludes to the matter in the present tense, as if he had personally seen the dancing. He died in 1634. Moreover, it is stated in an account-book of this city that in 1446 a payment of 1*s*. is entered as made to three players from Dunnington for appearing before the Lord Mayor. Is it possible that these three players were representatives of the dancing tenants already alluded to ?

Furthermore, we know that Dr. Lake, who became a Prebendary of York in 1670, and was afterwards Vicar of Leeds, and later one of the seven nonjuring Bishops, found dancing and rowdyism indulged in at the Minster on some of the feast days. He determined to try to stop it. We read that on the Thursday after his arrival the apprentices, who had been wont to ring the Pancake Bell and hold a sort of carnival in our nave, were remonstrated with by him. The revellers claimed a prescriptive right, and made such a riot that Dr. Lake was personally attacked. His colleagues intervened, and counselled him to make his exit. He replied that he had faced death too often in the past to shrink from martyrdom in the performance of duty. An attempt was made by the rioters to set fire to the Deanery. But finally the dancing and the rioting were all stopped, though it is stated that the nave of the church continued to be called the Lord Mayor's Promenade, and was used for recreative purposes.

Games were played in it, and the grass grew in it in some parts.

It seems likely that the dancing originally practised by the Dunnington tenants was, as in other parts at about the same time, of a purely religious character, and possibly in fulfilment of a solemn vow. But, as years and perhaps even centuries passed, the dancing degenerated, and possibly changed its character at the time of the mystery plays, till at length the revels before Lent began to be practised. It is to be hoped that further knowledge of the exact facts may be forthcoming. Meanwhile, this may be added. Many years ago some of the Lord of the Manor's servants and freeholders of two country parishes a few miles from Salisbury went in a kind of processional dance to the door of the Cathedral about Whitsuntide, or (since the Restoration) on Oak-apple Day, and before the Holy Table claimed certain customs in the adjacent forest ; but there is no evidence to show that any kind of dancing took place in the Cathedral itself. Certain liturgical dances were also formerly held in Wells Cathedral, but the Dean and Chapter there forbade them in 1339 because of the trouble and violence by which they were often accompanied.

However, what has now been said suggests some remarks that have a direct bearing upon elements in our worship that need to be cultivated. What are they ? It is clear that dancing as an act of worship existed from the earliest ages amongst all peoples. A few years ago the President of the British Association said that in some of the rock-caves in Spain there were representations of draped figures in flowing robes, evidently dancing before the statue of some god or goddess. They dated from prehistoric times ; he thought at least ten thousand years before Christ. But the historical records of literature and art show that this dancing was not social or recreative, as

amongst us, but cultivated as an essential element in the discharge of sacred duties, in Egypt, Greece, Rome, India, and North Europe, as well as by our Druid forefathers.

All this is emphasised and illustrated in the Old Testament Scriptures. After the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites, we read that Miriam, the sister of Moses, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out with timbrels and danced, and so joined in the triumphant chorus of the men. "Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea." Then when, year by year, the Feast of Shiloh was held, we read the "Daughters of Shiloh" came out to "dance in dances," and, mark, it is termed a "feast of the Lord," not a mere social gathering. But more important than this, when David brought up the Ark from the house of Obed-edom, he laid aside his royal robes and, clad in a simple linen ephod, "danced before the Lord." Need I remind you of the inspired exhortations in the Psalms?—"Let the children of Zion be joyful in their King; let them praise His Name in the dance." The testimony of the New Testament (if negative) shows that our Lord referred to it without any condemnation. In the parable of the Prodigal Son He emphasises the father's joy at his return home by saying, "He was received with music and dancing."

So, too, the happiness of the children in the marketplace is shown by their piping and dancing. And whilst there is no evidence to show that religious dancing was practised by the Jews in our Lord's time, we are informed that a "swaying movement" akin to Eastern dancing is still practised in the synagogues of the Hassidim Jews, especially in Poland and Tunis.

It is certain that dancing had a place in the public worship of the early Church. Let two references suffice. St. Basil, who flourished in the fourth century, recom-

mended the faithful to practise it on earth, as it was the occupation of the angels. And St. Chrysostom tells us that it took place not only in churches but before the tombs of the martyrs. But we can easily understand that this custom opened the door to irreverence, especially when women mixed with the men, so that St. Augustine and others denounced it. The Council of Toledo in 509 forbade it on the vigils of saints' days, thus showing it was allowed at other times. Later on it began to be generally forbidden. It was reintroduced when the mystery plays came into prominence. We read that the Cardinals of Narbonne and Saint-Severin in 1495 danced at Milan before the King of France. Nay, more, all the Fathers at the august Council of Trent in 1562 took part in a sacred dance.

In some places they have been carried on to the present day. There is the famous dance of the Seisses celebrated in the cathedral at Seville thrice a year. Twelve choirboys, dressed in mediæval costumes and playing castanets, dance before the high altar. Then there is the extraordinary dancing procession at Echternach, which I have seen. It takes place on Whit Tuesday. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages, led by their priests, and accompanied by their bands playing the same traditional tune, assemble in a meadow outside the town and the church which contains the shrine of St. Willibrord. They join in ranks of four, and take two steps forward and one backward, then one first to the right and then one to the left, and so go forward. They mount the flight of sixty-two stairs leading to the shrine. There they deposit their offerings. This peculiar custom originated in a penitential vow made centuries ago, when there was a mysterious outbreak of St. Vitus' dance. The ecstatic look and fixed gaze of some of those dancers remain vividly imprinted on my memory. Further, no

one can have seen the movements of the dancing and whirling Dervishes without being impressed by their solemnity. As one watched them, it appeared that they were bent on turning away from the earthly and visible, and trying by a concentrated and supreme effort of faith and action to hold communion with the unseen and the eternal.

But, friends, how does all this concern us here and now? How does it bear upon our spiritual life and personal duty? Think a moment. What is dancing? In itself only a movement of the body or of some of its members. And what does it signify? It is really an outward expression of an inward happiness or joy. But joy is an emotion which has its seat and source within the soul. It is a feeling springing from the heart, and showing itself in life and action. So we can enter into the figure of speech used by the Psalmist when he said, "My heart danceth for joy." His limbs might be motionless, but his heart was deeply stirred. And he tells us why and when. It was because at the moment he had a vivid and intense realisation of the presence and power of God as his "strength, his shield and defence." He had in some special way and at some particular time "trusted in God, and had been helped." But this was not enough. His exulting, dancing heart longed to find some more adequate outward self-expression. And he tells us how this could be done, viz., by a song of praise. If he did not then literally dance for joy, he could at least sing for joy.

Surely, friends, we can apply this; we can manifest our joy in a practical way; and how? Not by reviving the sacred dances formerly practised here (though I understand they are now being introduced into a church in New York), but we can, and we must, set forth God's "most worthy praise." All of us have not musical voices wherewith to express it in song,

but we can ask Him to " open our lips," and then our mouth can utter words of praise that spring from a heart full of joy and thanksgiving. We can " speak good " of His holy Name. But more than this, we can, as bidden, " make His praise glorious." We can, and we do, summon to our help the services of a highly trained and efficient choir, together with the notes and manifold stops of a grand organ, played by a master-hand. And so we can, and we do, adopt in spirit and in truth and reality the jubilant strains of the Psalm *Laudate Dominum*, with which we close our solemn Eucharist :

" Praise God in His holiness : praise Him in the firmament of His power. Praise Him in His noble acts : praise Him according to His excellent greatness. Praise Him in the sound of the trumpet : praise Him upon the lute and harp. Praise Him in the cymbals and dances : praise Him upon the strings and pipe. Praise Him upon the well-tuned cymbals : praise Him upon the loud cymbals. Let everything that hath breath : praise the Lord."

The Jewish singers added an exultant Hallelujah. We Christians conclude all our psalms of praise with the joyful Doxology : " Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto " (" Glory be to the Father, etc."). Amen.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 9 August 1925.

V

THE FIVE SISTERS OR JEWISH WINDOW IN YORK MINSTER

"He was wounded for our transgressions, . . . and with His stripes we are healed."—ISAIAH liii. 5.

THAT chapter might be regarded as the climax of Old Testament prophecy. It has so many points of contact with what they believed of Jesus Christ that in the words of a great Jewish commentator, "It looks as if it might have been written beneath the Cross at Golgotha." Up to the twelfth century of the Christian era the Jews universally interpreted it as referring to their Messiah. Since then attempts have been made to see in this picture of the suffering Servant a reference to the people of Israel, or to the Prophet Jeremiah, or to King Josiah. But, even supposing there was in the Prophet's mind some such reference to near or to coming times, there is nothing in Jewish history corresponding to its varied and minute details of facts, till Jesus Christ came, lived, suffered, died, rose again, and finished the work of our Redemption. And so we value these inspired words as a priceless treasure. We listen to them, when read, with reverent wonder, love, and praise. Let me today invite your attention to some of its most striking clauses—especially those already quoted—as illustrated in the form and in the glass of our so-called "Five Sisters Window."

But before proceeding to deal with it from this point of view, it should be known that this description, now so commonly used, is apparently of comparatively recent origin. I have been unable to ascertain when,

and by whom, it was first used. It is possible that there may have been some tradition that five sisters had to do with its design and execution. But it is fairly certain that the romantic story told by Charles Dickens in *Nicholas Nickleby*, and subsequently in substance adopted in the locally published pamphlet entitled *Alice of York*, led to its being popularly called the " Five Sisters."

However, some of our older historians call it the " Jewish Window," and state it was thus spoken of by tradition. But why Jewish ? Various explanations have been offered. One is because a subject from Jewish history appears in one of its panels, viz., the apocryphal story of Habakkuk feeding Daniel in the lions' den. Another, because it contains no figure of any kind, human or divine, in accordance with the literal interpretation of the Second Commandment, studiously acted upon by the Jews ; or, again, because it follows the type of decorative embroidery enjoined by Moses to be used in the Jewish Tabernacle. However these explanations may fit in with the obvious facts, there is another explanation which seems to me to be far more simple and natural, " because the money, in whole or in part, expended in its execution, came originally from Jewish pockets either by loan or gift." A sidelight in support, if not in proof, of this, is found in the fact that a certain Jew, Aaron of Lincoln, used to boast that he had " made a window for St. Alban's Abbey." But there was another Aaron living at York, far more wealthy and influential (the Rothschild of the day), who was then lending large sums of money to the builders of churches and abbeys, and to nobles in Yorkshire, about the time when this window was executed. Extant documents testify to this, and the deed may yet be found that relates to and settles this suggested explanation.

But now, in passing on to what is more important,

let us try to transpose ourselves back in thought to some of the leading ideas and happenings of early mediæval times. It is fairly certain that they would be reflected and illustrated, if possible, in current art and decoration. It was the time of the Crusades, undertaken, as you know, to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the infidel. The first Crusade was preached by Peter the Hermit, the second by St. Bernard. It is difficult for us to realise how Europe was stirred to its depths by their eloquent appeals. Jerusalem was the Holy Place where the Lord had suffered for man's salvation. There, upon the Cross, He had shed His precious blood for our Redemption. There He had died for us. Where was the faithful Christian who would not be prepared to shed his blood for his Saviour and help to regain possession of the Holy City? These appeals were irresistible. Kings, nobles, and their retainers hastened to show their devotion. Need I remind you of the glorious part played by our Kings Richard and Edward and St. Louis of France? All the details of the Cross and Passion were dwelt upon, seen in a new light, and regarded with special devotion. Moreover, the teachings of philosophy came in to accentuate the articles of the Christian faith. Numbers and their mutual relations had played an important part in the old systems. These were well known and studied by the mediæval clergy and applied to the truths of religion. There was one God, in contradistinction to the many gods of heathendom. The number two pointed to Jesus Christ revealed in His two natures, both God and man, illustrated in this Minster. Number three stood for the Holy Trinity. The number four for the four Evangelists. What of number five?

Pythagoras the Sage, whose speculations made the deepest impression upon succeeding times, had written a treatise, still extant, called *The Pentad*. He taught that five was the great mystic number, that it repre-

sented totality, all-inclusiveness, and had special force and application in expiatory sacrifices in atoning for guilt and sin. You can understand how these widely accepted pagan ideas fitted into some of the articles of the Christian faith and were applied to some of the striking details of the Passion and Crucifixion of our Blessed Lord. Was He not the perfect sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world? Did not His precious blood cleanse from all sin? Was not that blood shed five times before He died—at His Circumcision, at the Agony in the Garden, at His two flagellations, and when He was crowned with thorns, and afterwards (according to the prediction of the Psalmist) when they pierced His hands and feet when they nailed Him to the Cross—and is it not expressly recorded that the Roman soldier pierced His side with the spear, and out of the Sacred Heart came forth blood and water? Yes, the five wounds were, and are, glorious tokens of our Redemption.

It seems to me natural and appropriate that the Crusaders and those who followed them, disciples of the Lord, should meditate much upon these wounds, and that they should be symbolised in architecture and in art. Is it then any matter of surprise that when large wall-spaces had to be supplied with windows, the old builders should then begin to fill the spaces with five symbolic lights? But further, about the time our Five Sisters Window was being designed and executed, all Christendom was resounding with the name and fame of St. Francis of Assisi. After his death the stigmata were seen on his hands and feet, marks of the nails as on the body of our crucified Lord —evidences at least of the intensity of his meditation on the Passion and Death of our Saviour, and of the depth and fervour of his penitence and love. It is difficult for us to realise the profound and widespread effects of these remarkable manifestations. They did

not stand alone, but were renewed later on by similar appearances, as in the case of St. Catherine of Siena, and others up to present times.

Then, again, it should be borne in mind that the long reign of our King Henry III was a time of great religious revival. All over the country monasteries were being built or enlarged. Yorkshire was in the forefront. Our glorious St. Mary's Abbey was standing; Fountains, Rievaulx, and Kirkstall were being built, and our north transept was being designed or in course of construction. Throughout the land mendicant or preaching friars were bringing home to the people the sufferings of our Lord and the Gospel of the Cross. Moreover, the Patriarch of Jerusalem had sent to King Henry a few drops of what was reputed to be our Lord's blood. They had been received in state at Westminster Abbey, and afterwards presented to the King's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who had enshrined them in the Abbey at Hayles, Gloucestershire, to which five apsidal chapels were then added, emblematic of the five wounds. York would not be slow to follow up such an example. The north transept window with the five lights would fittingly and not unworthily emphasise and symbolise the current and popular devotional ideas. It is further said that the five wounds are delineated in one of the adjacent bosses, though so far I cannot identify it. What was being more splendidly represented in the Cathedral is shown in modified form in the five lights of the western window of the Archbishop's Palace, now our Library, then in course of construction.

But there is other local evidence showing how devotional thoughts were then being specially directed towards the five wounds.

Richard Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole, born at Thornton Dale, near Pickering, was a contemporary author. He lived for a time at Topcliffe, then (as now)

served by a priest appointed by the Dean and Chapter of York. He travelled about Yorkshire, and finally settled at Hampole, near Doncaster, and died in 1349. Some of his meditations in MS. may be seen in York Minster Library. One of them has for its subject the five wounds. Let me quote a few words from one of his devotions: "If St. Thomas wished to put his fingers into the print of the nails in His hands and feet, and thrust his hand into His side, think reverently of these wounds and of that Sacred Heart from which flowed the water and the blood. Compare these wounds with well-springs, from which flowed the water of life. By faith see in them the wells of wisdom, mercy, grace, comfort, and everlasting life. Enlarge on the search of this Love of Jesus for the souls of men. Wash by faith in that precious blood, for never was there sin, thought or wrought, from which, by sorrow and repentance, there is not full remission. Rest thee there. Comfort thee there. Live to Christ, world without end." The influence of this holy man spread far and wide, and from this time onward meditations on the five wounds became amongst the most popular devotions.

To some it may be interesting to know that about this time there was placed in Whitby Abbey a window showing the wounds and the Sacred Heart. This was removed at the Reformation and disappeared, but was afterwards discovered in Flanders. I have seen it in the private chapel of Raby Castle.

In further proof of the firm hold which the devotion to the five wounds took in the North of England, remember that the banners carried at the Pilgrimage of Grace were adorned with a representation of the wounds. The pilgrims also bore a similar emblem on their sleeves. Amongst those who joined this movement were our Archbishop and most of the nobility and gentry of Yorkshire. They raised a force thirty thousand strong, occupied our city, and, I doubt not,

were urged to take courage as they looked towards our famous window.

From that time onward references to the sacred wounds have had a conspicuous place in ecclesiastical art and religious poetry. About the same date Bishop Underwood, a Suffragan of Norwich, was commemorated in his cenotaph as kneeling, with a representation of the wounds in its four corners and the Sacred Heart in the centre. Above is a beautiful and significant inscription: "Vulnera quinque Dei sint medicina mea." The same emblem is found on contemporary rings afterwards often put to superstitious use in curing epilepsy. Let me remind you of the lines of Ignatius Loyola in the well-known "Anima Christi":

> "Sanguis Christi inebria me,
> Aqua lateris Christi lava me."

A similar strain is met with in such popular gospel hymns as Toplady's "Rock of Ages":

> "Let the water and the blood,
> From Thy riven side which flowed,"

and Faber's "O come and mourn with me awhile." And I feel constrained to call attention to a poem by Richard Crashaw, son of one of our York Canons, who lived at Bridlington and Beverley in 1617, whose works are characterised as "breathing a passionate fervour which expresses itself in a richness seldom surpassed in our language." I will quote only the first verse of this poem on the wounds of our crucified Lord:

> "Oh! these wakeful wounds of Thine:
> Are they mouths or are they eyen,
> Be they mouths or be they eyes,
> Each bleeding part someone supplies."

But now passing on to another branch of the subject, viz., the designs and colours of the painted glass in the five lights. What do they symbolise and mean? Dean Purey-Cust tells us he was indebted to Mr. Brown,

the antiquary (who in 1841 had special facilities for the closest inspection of the whole window), for the solution which he himself adopted. In spite of later additions and insertions, the original ground-work is the same in all the lights. The foliage used for the diaper (with only one exception) consists of the stems, sheath leaves, and fruit of the common plant known as the "avens" or "geum," abundantly found in meadows and thickets, but so common that it is easily unnoticed. But why was this mean thing chosen by the designers? They must have had some object in view. Their choice was significant and symbolic. In those days of early medical knowledge it was regarded as the "heal-all," the "cure-all," the universal panacea, the antidote for poison, a febrifuge, and efficacious in driving away serpents. Of this there is abundant proof. Lord Bacon speaks of it as "an ingredient in medicine"; and Poole, writing in 1404, says, "When this is kept in the house the devil cannot set his face"; and a later writer describes it as "a wholesome herb, fit to be kept in everyone's house and useful in all kinds of diseases and ailments, both externally and internally." Hence it was known as the "Planta Benedicta," the blessed plant, the bennet. You see the symbolism and its beautiful application. This blessed plant, so lowly, so unattractive in outward appearances, with no special beauty that we should desire it, so easily passed by and neglected, is a simple and eloquent emblem of Him Whom the Prophet describes as a "tender plant, a root out of a dry ground," that had "no form nor comeliness, and when we see there is no beauty that we should desire Him." He was "meek and lowly of heart," and yet He might be found everywhere by all seekers and obtained without money and without price. He came to destroy all the works of the devil, the old serpent. His precious blood seals to us everlasting life: "Oft as it is sprinkled

on our guilty hearts, Satan, in confusion, terror-struck departs." "By His stripes we are healed."

And as to the exceptions alluded to, the maple and the ivy are used in the terminations of one of the lights. These, too, have a symbolic meaning akin to that of the bennet. They were in early times, and still are, customary remedies for healing in homely domestic use. Old herbals tell us that both are available as poultices for sore eyes and in certain internal pains. It is known that ivy was extensively used in the London plague. And ivy as an evergreen is a recognised emblem of eternal life. It clings to the oak and to the rock, and tells us of the faith and love that lay hold of Jesus Christ the Rock of Ages, and cling to Him in life and death. Then the maple, from which sugar is made, is the emblem of sweetness, and suggests the well-known words :

> "Jesu, the very thought of Thee
> With sweetness fills the breast."

Furthermore, leaves both of the maple and ivy were made into garlands with which the heads of the victorious were crowned. Do not those whose wounds have been healed by Jesus Christ, and redeemed through His blood, look forward to wear a crown of glory that fadeth not away ?

Then, once more, the different colours shown in the glass are said to be not used at haphazard. Each had its special significance according to the then current ideas. White bespoke purity and truth ; purple, royalty ; brown and green, penitence ; red, ardent love ; blue, constancy. Red, white, and blue were conspicuous in the York use. Brown, the antiquary, asserts that the rich tone produced by the ruby or dark purple in our window is an intentional reminder of the penitence that befits those who contemplate the Saviour's wounds, whilst the excessive radiance of the more brilliant colours reminds us of the glories with

which the Saviour is now invested, triumphant over Satan and Death, and exalted to the right hand of the Majesty on High.

It may be thought that some of the symbolism now suggested is in some details overstrained, but I feel sure that the mediæval ecclesiastics pondered it long and well, and were careful to teach the people its supposed significance and spiritual application. But all of us will subscribe to the opinion of the expert already quoted : " that these five noble lights are pre-eminent in general display over the windows in England. They are unequalled in freedom, vastness, and simplicity, on which the eye rests with unspeakable delight. The designs are delicate and chaste, rich yet unobtrusive. All the forms and colours seem to intermix, like fine lace, shedding a dim religious light that fills the contemplative mind with sentiments of reverential awe." We can appreciate the story told of General Stonewall Jackson, the great Confederate leader in the American Civil War. When Lord Wolseley asked what had most impressed him during his recent visit to England, the General replied : " The five lancet windows in York Minster."

And now an additional interest attached to this glorious window is that it has been restored and is now regarded as the national memorial of the women who laid down their lives for Britain and the Empire in the service of their country in the Great War. I am privileged (as indeed it is my duty) to put on record that two ladies, one the wife of a former staff officer here and descended from a munificent benefactor to this city and Minster (in which he is specially commemorated), and the other a lady who bears an old and much respected name in York, volunteered to raise £3,000, the sum required to carry out this worthy object. An appeal was made, in the first instance, to the women of Yorkshire of all classes and denominations. There

was a ready response. Many outside the county were eager to join in the movement. The same post which brought £50 from Princess Mary brought £4 from patients in Leeds Hospital. Within three months the sum required has been raised, and £500 more. Over twenty-five thousand persons have contributed to the fund. In the light of what I have now endeavoured to show was in the mind of the original designers, no purpose could be more in accordance with their intention than that the renovated Five Sisters Window should commemorate the service and sacrifice of the (about) nine hundred and seventy women who died for their country in the Great War. If the window symbolises Redemption and Salvation wrought by the Wounds, Sacrifice, and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, were not these our sisters following in His steps in laying down their lives for others? May we not well hope that as future generations read the inscription and the Roll of Honour connected with the memorial they will, as they look, not merely admire a work of art, but by the Spirit of God have brought home to them their personal dependence for salvation upon the Sacrifice and Death of Jesus Christ, "Who was wounded for our transgressions, and by Whose stripes we are healed."

Note.—It should be noted that this Five Sisters Window, after its restoration by 30,000 women, was unveiled by the Duchess of York at a Special Memorial Service on June 24th, 1923. Similar services were held on the same day in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Tasmania. The adjacent oak screen dedicated at the same time by the Archbishop of York records on its twelve panels the names of the women of the Empire who gave their lives in the Great War of 1914–1918.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 8 July 1923.

VI

ROYAL SCOTTISH MARRIAGES AT YORK MINSTER

"And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there: and both Jesus was called, and His disciples, to the marriage."—JOHN ii. 1, 2.

AND the invitation was accepted. We may feel truly thankful that St. John was inspired to record this incident. On all accounts, it is important. It was the opening act of our Blessed Lord's public life. It was the occasion when He first manifested forth His glory, not only that of His divine power in the working of His first miracle, but the glory of His divine humanity in the revelation of His true sympathy with His brethren in their joyful celebrations, and in consecrating by His holy presence the nearest and dearest of our relationships, and in His readiness to supply our wants. Jesus Christ is "the same yesterday, today, and for ever." Now, at the right hand of the Majesty on High, He is the same Jesus. He may be realised by faith as still present at our weddings, ready to sanctify, ready to bless, to help, and to meet our needs.

Solemnisations of Holy Matrimony, alike in essential respects to that which took place at Cana, have been repeated throughout the ages in the villages, towns, and cities of Christendom. Many notable ones of historical interest have taken place in this Minster. To two of them, in early mediæval times, I propose to invite attention. They take us back to the thirteenth century, when the feudal system was in full force, when the conditions of life contrast greatly with those that

now prevail. The kingdoms of England and Scotland, now happily united, were then separate. There were constant disputes as to their respective possessions and rights. Wars were not infrequent occurrences.

In the reign of King John a convention had been held whereby it was agreed that a peace should be established and sealed by the marriage of the King of Scotland to a daughter of King John, and therefore a sister of his son and successor, Henry III, King of England.

The circumstances, as related by the contemporary chroniclers, are these: Scotland was then ruled by Alexander II, son of William the Lion. He had been crowned at the age of seventeen. He had sided with the English barons in their conflict with King John settled by the Great Charter. It had been agreed that Carlisle and the County of Northumbria should be given to Alexander. But some matters were still in dispute between the two countries, and after the death of King John a conference was held at Norham between Alexander, Pandulph the Papal Legate, and the Commissioner of King Henry. In consequence of the decisions then arrived at, Henry and Alexander met at York on St. Barnabas Day, 1221. It was then arranged that Alexander should marry one of the daughters of King John, Joan or her sister Isabella (both of them sisters of Henry III). It was also arranged that King Henry should provide suitable alliances for the two Scottish princesses.

But there were difficulties in regard to Joan, owing to her absence in France and the startling circumstances under which she was detained there. Her mother was the beautiful Isabella of Angoulême, called the "Helen of the Middle Ages." In early life she had been betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan. But she had abandoned him to become the wife of King John of England. When he died, and within a year of her widowhood,

she returned to Angoulême and astonished the world by herself marrying the man she had formerly discarded, and so displacing her own daughter Joan, who was then living under her husband's protection at his castle at Lusignan.

When the young King Henry heard of his mother's re-marriage, he wrote requiring his stepfather to send his sister back under due escort. Then the Queen-mother intervened and contended that her daughter, the Princess, should not be married to the King of Scotland without a surrender to herself of the properties she claimed as the widow of King John. A long correspondence ensued. The Pope was appealed to. At length the case was settled by the payment of the jointure claimed by Isabella. The Princess Joan then returned to England, her age being under eleven.

In June 1221 the English and Scotch Courts assembled at York. On June 19 Alexander II was married in the Minster by Archbishop Walter de Gray to Joan. At the same time Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justiciary of England, and the King's principal friend and adviser, was married to one of the Scottish princesses. From time to time afterwards the English and Scottish kings met in York and spent Christmastide there, dining together in public.

When Joan died in 1239, leaving no issue, Alexander II married a noble French lady, the beautiful Mary de Coucy, of great influence and ability, a member of the family that bore the proud motto :

> " Roi ne suis, ne Prince aussi;
> Je suis le sieur de Coucy."

The child of this marriage was a son, who afterwards became Alexander III, and was betrothed as an infant of a year old to his cousin Margaret, daughter of Henry III. His father, Alexander II, is described as " one

of the wisest kings that ever reigned over Scotland." He died in 1249, and was buried in Melrose Abbey.

On his death, troubles again arose between England and Scotland. They were largely met by the intervention of our Archbishop Walter de Gray. But all differences were finally settled by a treaty made at Newcastle, whereby the young King Alexander III's betrothal as an infant to Margaret of England was solemnly renewed. In due course these nuptials were celebrated in our Minster with such magnificence as befitted the rank of such illustrious persons, though neither bride nor bridegroom was eleven years old.

As Christmastide in 1251 approached, great preparations for the marriage were made. The principal nobles of England and Scotland, with their retainers, flocked into the city. Difficulties in connection with housing the Scots at once arose. They were all lodged in one street. Even then their marshals disputed about their quarters, and had recourse to their fists and their clubs, and then to their swords. One person was killed and several wounded. The tumult was not quelled till appeased by the officers of the King of England, "grave and modest men," helped by the Archbishop's officers, settling everyone according to his quality. A miscellaneous crowd from all parts of the country was gathered together—mountebanks, jugglers, players, musicians, and others. English, Scottish, and French nobles, priding themselves in their silks and satins, vied with one another. Mary de Coucy, the stately Dowager Queen-mother, came over from France with a retinue of French court ladies in splendid attire. The bride's mother, Queen Eleanor of Provence, provided her daughter with suitable plate costing 200 marks, with chalices and vestments for her chapel, and with pieces of cloth for her dresses. The King, her father, agreed to pay within a year a dowry of 5,000 silver marks.

The first of the grand ceremonies was the conferring of the Order of Knighthood on the young King of Scotland and twenty-one of the nobles in the Minster. In those days of chivalry this was invested with a deep religious and moral significance ; it was not, as now, a mere distinctive title. From first to last it had both a Godward and Christian aspect. Every one of its ceremonies was emblematic of spiritual truth, though it involved the duty of service to an overlord as a superior and the adoption of arms.

In the case of the young Scottish King, the night before his institution he was entrusted to the care of two esquires, who conducted him to his chamber, instructed him in the duties of his office, and signed him with the cross. After he had bathed, he put on a white robe in token of purity. Over this was afterwards placed a dark or russet robe signifying the great changes that awaited him in the world and possibly the shedding of his blood for the Faith. The night was passed in prayer and fasting. At sunrise he received the Holy Communion. He then put on his distinctive knightly dress and was conducted to the King, his future father-in-law, who invested him with the sword and belt and gave him the accolade, i.e. a gentle tap on the shoulder, saying, " In the Name of God, I dub thee a Knight. Be true and faithful. Defend the Church, and do justice." The spurs and other accoutrements were then put on. This was followed by the customary homage—duty rendered to King Henry by Alexander for the lands held by him in Lothian. But when Henry urged him to do the same for the realm of Scotland, the lad showed his spirit and good sense by answering he had " come to be married, not to discuss affairs of State, which he could not settle without consulting his council."

King Henry did not further press the matter, as he did not want to break off the match. After investi-

ture, the Marshal of England demanded that the newly knighted Prince should surrender to him the palfrey on which he rode ; he said he was not actuated by avarice, but by regard for ancient custom, and so made his claim. The young King declined, saying he would not suffer such exaction ; he could have been knighted by any Catholic Prince or by one of his own nobles, but out of respect for the King of England he preferred to be belted by him. So the matter was disposed of.

The next day—St. Stephen's Day—the actual marriage took place at an early hour to prevent the undue crowding of the Minster. The bride, described as the King's handsome daughter, was led to the altar by her brother, Prince Edward, and was accompanied by three bridesmaids in gowns of cloth-of-gold, emblazoned with the arms of England. A thousand knights in suits of silk followed in her train. The royal bridegroom, whose " dignified demeanour " is testified to, was waited on by sixty knights and a number of gentlemen richly habited. The King and Queen of England came with a brilliant retinue. Scotland sent her chivalry and clergy. The marriage ceremony was impressively performed by the aged Archbishop Walter de Gray, honoured by all alike. The day after the marriage was followed by the state banquet provided by the Archbishop. The chroniclers dwell upon the lavish provision made, including threescore pasture-fed oxen.

The civic authorities sent deer, bucks, does, one hundred wild boars from the Royal Forest, salmon and other fish. One writer says the quantity of strong liquor and wine drunk could not be credited, though some was of inferior quality. An interesting and touching incident is recorded. The Scottish King, kneeling at his father-in-law's feet, with his bride beside him, and hanging on to his dress, asked for the pardon of one of his ministers who had been guilty of bribery.

King Henry, moved by the artless earnestness of their request, answered "Willingly," whereupon all at the feast, we are told, shed tears of tenderness and admiration. It is added, however, that the delinquent had already taken care to propitiate his royal master by a present of 1,000 marks. The festivities that ensued were unexampled.

The chronicler despairs of describing the abundance and variety of the viands, the changes of the dresses, the humour of the jesters, and the number of the revellers. Both Kings entertained the whole company alternately, but their hospitality was surpassed by the more than royal munificence of the ecclesiastical Prince of the North, who is said to have spent in this short period a sum equal to the whole annual income of the Dowager Queen of Scotland.

When all the feasting was over, the Royal couple left York, the King and Queen of England going south, the young King and Queen of Scotland going north. It may be mentioned here that recently a silver coin of the reign of King Alexander II, marked with the double cross, was found in a pond in this neighbourhood, doubtless lost upon their journey by one of the retinue.

In spite of these two royal marriages in the thirteenth century, the time was not yet ripe for the real union of England and Scotland. Full three hundred years had yet to elapse. Another Margaret, the elder daughter of our King Henry VII, had yet to leave a permanent mark in our ancient city on her way north to marry James IV, King of Scotland, in 1502. Her granddaughter was Mary Queen of Scots, under whose son, James I of England and VI of Scotland, the two realms became permanently united, to their mutual advantage and to the blessing of the world.

Such is the story and outcome of one of the greatest national events wrought with lasting consequences that ever took place in this Minster city or kingdom.

Has anyone been asking why I spend time in telling such tales? Preach the Gospel. I take up with all sincerity St. Paul's words, "Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel!" But the Gospel of salvation is no narrow theme. It applies to all the relationships of life, and intimately so to the closest of all relationships. And this account of the marriage at Cana is a real Gospel in itself. Further, I take it to be part of the duties of my special office here to draw your attention to these historical subjects. I know they are interesting to many, and practical and profitable to some. And as to this particular tale, can any subject be more vital to happiness in time and eternity than marriage, whether it be that of prince or peasant?

Let me, then, add a word or two of friendly counsel, especially for the sake of our younger worshippers who may be looking forward to being married. Lay to heart what our Prayer Book says: "Do not undertake this solemn union unadvisedly or lightly, still less wantonly, but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God." Be not content with marriage before a registrar, but seek the blessing of God and of the Church in the House of God. Remember the bond is "for better or for worse." No one must expect to have all his or her own way. Bear and forbear; give and take. Remember always what is symbolised—the mystical union twixt Christ and His Church. Matrimony is the holy estate adorned and beautified with His presence in Cana of Galilee. Then there can be no divorce. But seeking the Divine blessing, those whom God hath joined together may expect to remain ever in perfect love and peace together, and live according to His laws, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 11 May 1924.

VII

THE MARRIAGE OF EDWARD III AND PHILIPPA, 24 JANUARY 1328

"For as a young man marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee: and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee."—ISAIAH lxii. 5.

THE Prophet Isaiah in God's name is addressing the "virgin daughter of Zion." Zion is the name of the hill at Jerusalem, crowned by the temple. So Zion, in figurative language, stands for the city of God; the Church of God; the chosen people of God; and the members of both Church and State. The point of the Prophet's prediction was that a happy time was coming when the sons, or rather the children, of Zion—her sons and daughters—would be so loyal and devoted to their city, their Church, their native country, that their attachment could be described by no other figure than that they should be married to her. They would be united to her with all their heart and mind and soul and strength. Then, as the natural result of that blessed union, God Himself would rejoice over His Zion "as the bridegroom rejoiceth over his bride." Need I stay to remind you that these figures of the bride and the bridegroom and their marriage are consecrated in the pages of the New Testament and refer to the union between Christ and His Church?

My purpose this morning is to use this text as appropriately suggesting to us an actual happy marriage, the greatest royal and historical event that ever took place in York Minster. On Sunday, 24 January, 1328, on the eve of the Feast of the Conversion of

St. Paul, our King Edward III was married here to Philippa of Hainault. As we meet here this morning on the anniversary of that solemnity, it seems right that we who worship here and that the inhabitants of this ancient and famous city should be reminded of our past glories, especially when these had an important bearing upon the history and progress of our nation. They ought to stimulate us to be keenly alive to our present duties and to make the most of our present opportunities in a spirit of sincere faith in the calls and in the Providence of God ; leading us to devoted service to our city, our Church, our country, our Zion. It seems to be my privilege and my duty, as Chancellor of this church, to try to do what in me lies to bring home to you some of the outstanding events of our past history and the lessons they convey.

Our King Edward III was called to the throne when a lad of fifteen on the deposition of his weak and selfish father, Edward II, at the instigation of his mother, Queen Isabella. She is known as " the she-wolf of France "—rapacious, unscrupulous, intriguing, and unfaithful. He was born and reared in the stormy days of the conflict with the Scots and Robert the Bruce and fatal Bannockburn. For some time he was King only in name, the real power being exercised by his mother and her minion, Mortimer. He and his mother after a while came to York and resided at the Grey Friars, and were then surrounded with much luxury and pomp. But the old foemen, the Scots, were troublesome and threatening, and fortifications were being made and troops got together from all available sources.

Family ties bound the Queen-mother to Hainault, and it was natural to seek help from that quarter. Hainault is a country in which we are deeply concerned. As in the days of old, it is now our ally. It is part of heroic Belgium, and consists of Western Flanders and

part of Northern France. It includes Mons and Charleroi. Its capital was Valenciennes. It was a State that was rich in coal mines, and its independent rulers were known as Counts, who were more wealthy and powerful than most of the European monarchs of those days. These Hainaulters responded to the appeal, and a body of them under Sir John—brother to William the Good, their Count—came over to England and were attached to the forces operating against the Scots. Their misconduct and insolence led to conflicts with our people, including a notable one on Trinity Sunday, in which many were killed on both sides. Sir John returned home, and soon afterwards Queen Isabella and her son went over to Hainault.

Although there is here some difference between contemporary records, it appears that the lad Edward then for the first time saw the five daughters of Count William, and that he and the youngest—younger than himself—were so far mutually attracted to one another that Philippa shed tears at his departure. Later on an embassy was sent to the Count of Hainault to make a formal choice of one of the Count's daughters to be Queen of England. Amongst the ambassadors was the Bishop of Lichfield, and, as Harding's *Chronicle* informs us : " When the five young ladies were paraded for inspection, all of them were more or less attractive, and the delegates had some difficulty in coming to a decision. But at last it was the Bishop's eagle eye which detected in the healthy countenance and promise of bodily perfection, and sweet disposition of the youngest, the most suitable to be the future Queen. To this all agreed."

But as both Edward and Philippa were grandchildren of Philip III, the King of France, it was deemed desirable that a Papal dispensation to allow the marriage should be obtained. This was granted by Pope John XXII. Whilst the arrangements were being

made to take the young lady to England, a marriage by procuration, according to the custom of the time, was solemnised at Valenciennes, the Bishop of Lichfield acting as proxy on behalf of the King. All things honourable for such a lady who should be Queen of England being provided, Sir John of Hainault, her uncle, conducted her with all her company to Dover. Thence she visited the shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, and later arrived in London with a great retinue and display of magnificence. A solemn procession of clergy introduced her into the city, and there were feasting and sumptuous entertainments for three weeks after her landing in England.

The young King, with his mother, were keeping Christmas at York with much state. Before the solemnity of the festival was ended, Sir John arrived with his beautiful niece and numerous attendants. They were received by the King with all the pomp and ceremony a monarch could bestow. All the jousts, tournaments, plays, and pastimes then in use were exhibited, in order to testify his joy and to do honour to his bride. The city was filled with soldiers. Every village in the neighbourhood swarmed with fighting men. Soon was witnessed a more brilliant spectacle than the sight of an army of sixty thousand men eager for the field, for the Parliament and the Council of the nation were assembled. The magnificence of the espousals was heightened by the grand entry of one hundred of the principal nobility of Scotland, who had arrived in England to conclude a lasting peace, cemented by the marriage of the King's little sister Joanna. The flower of the English nobility was gathered round the King and his bride, and on Sunday, 24 January, 1328, the eve of the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, the hands of Edward and Philippa were united in this Minster by the Archbishop, William de Melton. He is described as one of the most illustrious prelates that

ever ruled over this Northern Province, a man of first-rate ability and of many avocations, prompt and energetic in action, and one who rendered especial service to the Court as well as to the Church, zealous in suppressing vice and irregularity, and a good shepherd to his flock. He it was who probably completed the north and west front of our Minster. He was buried in the adjacent north aisle, and a paten and chalice used by him may still be seen in our Treasury. The Archbishop was assisted by John de Hotham, Bishop of Ely, once a Prebendary in this cathedral. He was one of the leading statesmen who had taken a prominent part in forwarding the cause of the Queen-mother and her son, and at the time of the marriage was Lord High Chancellor and Keeper of the Seal. He was the builder of the famous tower and octagon of Ely Cathedral.

Upon these happy nuptials there was great joy all over England, especially at Court, where there were jousts and tournaments in the daytime and merry-makings, revels, interludes with songs and dances in the evening, and continual feasts with great magnificence for three weeks together. The whole country was wild with joy and excitement. There was, however, one interference with the rejoicings owing to the ill conduct of some of the Hainaulters. A serious conflict took place between them and the English. Before sunrise on a certain Wednesday, a small battle was fought out in Watling Gate, in which there were slain and drowned in the Ouse of the Hainaulters five hundred and twenty-seven, and of the English there fell two hundred and forty-two. The newly married couple remained in York until Easter.

In early years the Queen was a constant attendant of the King on his campaigns. She shared his dangers at sea and on land. She became the sagacious ruler of the kingdom in his absence and the victorious leader

of his army. She was with the English troops at the battle of Neville's Cross, mounted on a white charger, exhorting them to do their duty well in defending the honour of their King, and urging them for the love of God to fight manfully. She was courageous, kindly, humble, devout, liberal, graceful; adorned, says Froissart, "with every noble virtue and beloved of God and all men." "A beautiful and well nigh perfect Queen," says Barnes.

Queen Philippa comes before us as a conspicuous example of the good influence which a pious and prudent wife may exert over a hot-tempered, self-willed, and passionate husband. When a stage gave way at one of the tournaments and the King in a rage vowed death to the carpenter who had erected it, the Queen pleaded for his forgiveness and obtained it. When Calais surrendered to the King and six of its chief burgesses appeared with halters around their necks, the Queen besought the King for the love of the Son of our Lady to spare their lives, and she afterwards provided them with clothes and money.

She was also a devoted mother, who did all she could to bring up her children in the "nurture of the Lord." The piety of her famous eldest son is said to have been owing to his mother's influence. She undertook the wardship and education of her second son's wife. Further, she was keenly alive to the wants and interests of the nation. It was chiefly owing to her encouragement that the Flemish weavers settled in England and that the newly introduced coal trade was developed. Her favourite mottoes give the keys to her life and influence. They were "Myn biddinye" and "Iche wrüde muche" ("I wrought much"). She was resolute and had a will of her own, and she was a hard worker and carried out whatever she resolved upon. She was the patroness of Froissart, prince of chroniclers, and was celebrated in song by Chaucer, the contem-

porary poet. Queen's College, Oxford, and St. Catherine's Hospital near the Tower, and numerous charitable institutions are abiding testimonies to her practical piety.

Her auspicious marriage with Edward had many remarkable effects upon the subsequent history and progress of this country. No fewer than twelve children were born to the royal couple, seven of them sons and five daughters. The sons were mostly men of commanding stature and of great strength of body and force of character. The eldest son was Edward the Black Prince, renowned for his successful battles of Cressy and Poitiers, and for his chivalrous treatment of his prisoner, King John of France. John o' Gaunt, "time-honoured Lancaster," was another, and a third son was Edmund, Duke of York. Through these last two and their descendants sprang the Houses of York and Lancaster and the Wars of the Roses.

Another son in whom we of this city ought to be much concerned was William of Hatfield, who died, aged eight, and is buried in the north aisle of this Minster. It is our only royal tomb, and is a memorable work of art, sadly in need of restoration. I feel sure that all of us would be glad if our gracious King or some other interested person might be induced to take in hand its restoration.

After a long union of nearly forty-two years, the royal couple were parted by death. The record of the last scene is a touching one. When the Queen saw that her end was approaching, she called to the King, and extending her left hand, put it in his right hand and said: "We have enjoyed our long union in happiness, peace, and prosperity; but I entreat thee, before we are for ever separated in this world, that you will grant me three requests." King Edward, with sighs and tears, said: "Lady, name them; whatever be thy requests, they shall be granted." "My Lord,"

she said, "I beg you to fulfil whatever engagements I have entered into with merchants or their wares as well on this as on the other side of the sea. I beseech you fulfil whatever legacies I have made to churches wherein I have paid my devotions, and to all my servants; and when it shall please God to call you hence, you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, and that you lie by my side in the Abbey of Westminster." King Edward died in 1377, and now the mortal remains of Edward and Philippa, who stood together in this church over five hundred years ago, lie side by side in the Royal Chapel of the Abbey.

The King is there represented with "long flowing hair and beard," which agrees with contemporary accounts. The face of the Queen is the earliest attempt at a portrait. She is represented with that curious reticulated head-dress then adopted by Flemish and other ladies of high degree. Unless I am mistaken, she is also represented similarly adorned in one of the projecting busts of our Ladye Chapel. The King's statue stands on the south side of our choir screen. I need hardly remind York people that their marriage is depicted in a stained glass window of our Guildhall.

This hasty sketch suffices, I think, to remind us that Edward III and Philippa conspicuously illustrated the figurative prophecy of our text and were true English patriots, wedded to one another and wedded to old England in heart and soul and life. They were united to her in bonds of love and duty. They worked for her; they fought for her; they made sacrifices for her; and they set an example to their subjects and to English folk of all succeeding generations.

York citizens and others may well lay all this to heart, and try to be worthy of their past glories by devotion to present duties to their ancient city and also to the land of their birth. May the remembrance of this record urge each of us in our several ministries

to be faithful and true and devoted to our Church and nation, Zion, shedding our blood and spending our treasure for her as our fathers did in days of old, assured that our God will then rejoice over us "as the bridegroom rejoiceth over his bride," and that He will bless us and make us a blessing to the empire and to the world.

This sermon was preached in York Minster on the 587th anniversary of the marriage of Edward III and Philippa, 24 January 1915.

VIII

THE ROYAL TOMB IN YORK MINSTER

"But now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."—2 SAMUEL xii. 23.

DOUBTLESS you have in mind the circumstances under which King David spoke these touching words. His baby boy—the offspring of his guilty association with Bathsheba—had been "very sick." For seven days his little life had been trembling in the balance, and the anxious father had wept and fasted. On the seventh day the child's spirit departed to be with the God that made it. Then the King arose, washed, anointed, changed his apparel, went to the House of the Lord, worshipped, returned to his own house, and resumed his customary duties. Courtiers were amazed. They could not understand the King's attitude. It seemed to them so inconsistent. They ventured to ask him what accounted for it. What solaced him? What lifted him up? The text gives the answer. It was not mere submission to the unalterable will of God, but the clear conviction that he should meet the darling again in the other world after his own death. It was not an eternal separation. Some time there would be some kind of recognition, some renewal of intercourse, some reunion. "I shall go to him." How often have the same thoughts been in the minds of the bereaved! How often the same words on their lips! As one looks around this Minster one feels assured that they have often solaced the survivors of many who have been laid to rest here in early life or are here com-

memorated. Let me illustrate this by one or two such examples.

First and foremost in regard to the monument to Prince William of Hatfield. Dean Purey-Cust wrote of it as " the most touching and elegant of our canopied monuments. It is unique, for I know no other like it." Who was this Prince? What do we know of his monument? He was the second son of King Edward III and Philippa of Hainault. They had been married in the Minster in 1328 amidst much pomp. An heir to the throne, afterwards known as Edward the Black Prince, had been born to them in 1330. Then after six years a second boy was given them, known as William of Hatfield, born at the royal residence near Doncaster. There was a hunting-box in the forest, and chase well stocked with deer. Important events had already taken place there. In 633 a fierce battle had been fought there between the heathen King Penda and Edwin of Northumbria, in which our Edwin had been killed and his head brought to York and buried here in the church he was then building over the scene of his baptism. At Hatfield, too, in 680, there had been held a great National Assembly of the Church of England, at which were present Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, John the Precentor, and Benedict Biscop, founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Then and there had been drawn up and signed a declaration as to the soundness of the Church of England in the Faith. We can enter into the joy of the parents when this little child was born. It apparently ensured the succession to the Crown in the event of the elder brother's death. There are evidences of their joy and gratitude. The good Queen-mother showed her gladness by making a thankoffering to the Abbot of Roche of five marks, and five nobles to the monks—a goodly sum in those days.

Let me in passing remind you of the service in the

Prayer Book commonly called "The Churching of Women," and direct your attention to the rubric which enjoins that the "Woman, that cometh to give her Thanks, must offer accustomed Offerings; and, if there be a Communion, it is convenient that she receive it." The plural form "offerings" suggests not only a small fee to the officiating minister, but an offering to the Church. Why not on such occasions, if means allow, make a permanent gift to the parish church or minster?

This Prince William lived for eight years, and was then called away to an early death, when his father was absent at war in France. We can sympathise with the royal mother's suspense and anxiety as she watched at her boy's bedside during his illness, and then —when the end came—at the keenness of her sorrow; all the keener owing to her loneliness, with her husband not at her side to share her grief and help her carry her bitter cross. However, the Archbishop was present, sustaining her with the consolations of our most holy Faith. But the mourning mother did what she could. We know it. She ordered that prayers should be offered in the Minster for the repose of the boy's soul in the Place of Refreshment. Funeral obsequies suitable to his high rank were arranged. An entry in the wardrobe book records that over £142 was spent in connection with his burial. Three cloths of diapered gold were laid over his tomb. The monument to his memory was apparently at once begun, and placed over or near the place of his interment. But this is not all. When Queen Philippa died in 1369, her richly embroidered bed was sent to the Minster as a memorial. Might not this have been done at the express wish of the dying mother? As the hour of her own departure drew near, might not this have been prompted by loving thought of the dear boy who, thirty years ago, had entered into that holy rest in which she was about

to join him? At any rate, this could not have been done without the knowledge and sanction of the royal father. He, too, may have shared in the wishes and feelings of that devoted wife to whose wise counsel he had been so much and so long indebted.

Doubtless most of you know that this monument is of alabaster and stands in the north aisle of the choir, and certainly is an abiding testimony to the piety, the affection, and the sorrow of the royal parents. Dean Purey-Cust wrote thus of it: "There is something very touching in the unfortunately defaced effigy, very emblematic of the tender, loving disposition characteristic of the good Queen." The Prince is represented in a recumbent position, lying upon a robe of state, habited in a rich doublet finely flowered, with long sleeves, and a mantle with foliated edges. Across the loins is a massive girdle termed the "cincture noble," composed with square pieces of metal, probably gold, called tassels. The head, with the curling locks of youth, is adorned with a coronet, and was formerly supported by angels. The legs are represented as encased in fine hose, and the feet, in shoes of delicate and costly material, rest against a Lion of England, guarding its sacred charge. It stands in a succession of three arches, with finely moulded canopies, doubtless once filled with figures of saints and angels, emblematic of the peace of the youthful departed. Doubtless it was rich in colouring and carving, and at the back of the figure on the wall are traces of broom blossom —the emblem of the noble race of the Plantagenets to which he belonged. There is no inscription to tell his name and august parentage, and visitors may easily pass it by unless their special attention be called to the tomb.

This is the only royal tomb in the Minster, apart from those of early Norman Princes, whose places of interment are unknown. The mortal remains of other

members of our royal race are resting in other cathedrals: King John's at Worcester; Edward II at Gloucester. The tomb of Edward the Black Prince is one of the glories of Canterbury, and this boy William's famous father and mother are commemorated in Westminster Abbey by recumbent figures of signal artistic merit. It has always seemed to some of us desirable that this beautiful relic of mediæval royalty should be restored, and a suitable inscription attached to it, especially as nearly all our old monuments have recently been renewed by living representatives of the persons commemorated. A comparatively small sum of money would do all that is necessary, add to the interest and adornment of the Minster, and testify to an important historical fact. Unfortunately the Dean and Chapter have no funds at their disposal available for this purpose. One cannot help wondering how different might have been the history of our country had this boy lived and left a family. The Wars of the Roses—springing out of the rivalries of the descendants of two of his younger brothers, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Lionel, Duke of Clarence representing the Yorkists—might never have occurred. But we must not challenge the mysteries of God's Providence, which ordereth all things.

In this connection it seems appropriate to record the fact that our late Dean was most anxious to place a memorial to Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, in the south aisle of the choir corresponding with this to Prince William. The Duke was stationed in this city from 1887 to 1891 and often worshipped here. He was a frequent visitor at the Deanery. Some of us were privileged to meet him there and elsewhere. Dean Cust had a design prepared for this contemplated memorial, which it was found impracticable to carry out. Instead of it he erected the beautiful tablet in which the Duke is described as "a loyal Churchman,

a gracious Prince, and a constant friend." It is surmounted by a cross and crown encircled with a wreath of laurel.

Once more, adjacent to this tablet is a fine brass panel commemorating the officers and men of the Prince of Wales's Regiment who gave their lives for their country in the Egyptian campaign, 1883–7. At the end of the last line of a long list of the fallen there are three striking words : " Boy Arthur Seymour." I have often wondered what his story may have been. There are no particulars as to his age or service, but the brevity of the record is telling. Just a boy. A father's boy and a mother's boy. Just a name. Was he a bugler or a drummer ? As we look and ponder, one hopes the name is also written in Heaven in the Lamb's Book of Life. How many such boys pass to the Father's home, both in war and in peace, by sickness and by accident !

Death levels all distinctions, high and low, rich and poor. Children of peer and of peasant, infants of days and people of fourscore years and ten, alike pass out of sight though not out of mind. How often are the words of King David borne in upon our thoughts— " I shall go to him." All of us have to lay them to heart, for they enshrine a great and comforting truth. Though death involves temporary separation and snaps asunder the present form of earthly union, it leads to a blessed eternal reunion. It does not interfere with that communion and fellowship which we have with God the Father and with one another through and in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Such is the glorious revealed certainty before us believers in the Gospel. Far, far beyond the knowledge possessed by King David, though speaking under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, he evidently believed not only in the immortality of the soul, but in some form of recognition in the future state. And it is well for us to bear

in mind that this belief has been almost universally shared in by intelligent heathen. In fact, it seems to be an instinct of natural religion implanted in us by the Creator. He has caused us to be born into a family life, and has given us these human relationships that bring into play our deepest and best feelings. It does not accord with the character of a God of Love, Wisdom, and Justice, that these feelings should be snapped and ended in the eternal world. No, indeed. So we find Cicero writing words akin to those of David: "O happy day, when I shall join the divine company of souls that have quitted the earth! Then I shall find my Cato. His soul has not left me. He has only gone before me into a country where I shall soon rejoin him." Words such as these are not amongst the pious hopes in which the wish is father to the thought. They are certified by Him Who brought life and immortality to light. His teachings on the subject are decisive. His people were to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of God. In the picture of the other world He drew in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, the rich man in the next world knew the beggar who had laid at his gate here. He remembered what had taken place here. He thought of his brethren still alive below. When about to leave them Christ comforted His friends by saying: "In My Father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you; that where I am, there ye may be also." He should be reunited to them in the hereafter. Friends in time were to be friends in eternity. St. Paul sought to comfort those sorrowing for their departed ones by assuring them that, all children of the Lord, they—the survivors—should be reunited to those who had gone before, adding: "So shall we [i.e. we, the survivors, and they, the departed] be ever with the Lord." So when we are called upon to part with the near and dear, whether they be small or great,

whatever may be the relationship, husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, may we in assured confidence of living faith and humble hope, calmly, peacefully, and thankfully, try to meet our losses in a spirit more cheerful than that cherished by King David, because resting on the glorious promise of Him Who is the Resurrection and the Life, Who came that we might have life, and "have it more abundantly," in form and measure far surpassing what eye has seen and ear heard, and that has entered into the heart of man to conceive, and more than satisfying all those natural instincts, cravings, and feelings implanted within us by our Faithful Creator, Who is the God of Love.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 12 November 1922.

IX

OUR GREAT BENEFACTOR: ARCHBISHOP WALTER DE GRAY

1216—1255

"Their works do follow them."—Revelation xiv. 13.

In entering York Minster by the south transept door, we observe two canopied tombs. The first is to the memory of Dean Duncombe and the second is to that of Archbishop Walter de Gray. Let me invite your attention to his remarkable history, and refer to some of the spiritual truths which it suggests. Then, who was he? Why should he be singled out for commemoration? Brief answers must suffice. He was a member of a leading family, already distinguished in the reigns of Kings John and his son, Henry III. His uncle was Bishop of Norwich, and a favourite of the former King, who nominated him to the see of Canterbury but failed to secure his appointment. The nephew, Walter, educated at Oxford, at an early age became a special favourite with King John, and was appointed by him Lord Chancellor; but when that monarch made his famous submission to the Pope, the Chancellor, as a patriotic Englishman, declined to countersign the surrender. From that time onward he necessarily became prominent both in the Church and State. After obtaining several smaller preferments, at the King's request he was elected Bishop of Lichfield by the Chapter, but the Pope did not confirm the appointment. The next year he was duly appointed Bishop of Worcester. The great conflict between

King John and the nobles was then proceeding. Agreement between them was brought about by the signing of Magna Charta, but Gray's signature does not appear as appended. The see of York was then vacant. To this he was nominated by the King, but the Chapter declined to elect him, affirming that he was no scholar although a man of chaste life. The Pope, however, intervened in his favour on the ground that his acknowledged purity of life was an adequate qualification. It is, however, stated that the Archbishop (then in Rome) had to pay £10,000 for his promotion. Such payments were in accordance with the customs of the time, for Gray had already paid 5,000 marks to the King when appointed Chancellor. One chronicler states that owing to this heavy exaction, the resources of the Archbishop were so reduced that he became penurious, covetous, and indifferent to the wants of the poor. This charge is unsupported and not consistent with his well-known benefactions of all kinds.

When King John died, and his son (then a boy) succeeded to the throne, the Archbishop became his constant friend and trusted adviser. In fact from that time onward there is no important public matter in which he did not take a leading part. He soon gave proof of his policy by issuing a new edition of Magna Charta. Its first article asserts the freedom of the Church of England, and confirmed it in the possession of its rights and liberties unimpaired and free from undue interference either by the King or the Pope. As the young monarch advanced in years he loaded the Archbishop with new responsibilities and fresh honours. He was instrumental in putting down a rebellion of English nobles, and was rewarded by the gift of some of their lands. He was Ambassador to France more than once and entrusted with difficult and delicate negotiations. Twice he was made Regent

of England and authorised (in the King's absence) to raise troops and levy supplies. He became Constable of the Tower. He settled differences between England and Wales. He arranged alliances with Scotland which led to the marriage in our Minster of the King's sister Joan to the Scottish King, Alexander II. He stoutly upheld his primatial position as Archbishop of York when brought into official association with the Archbishop of Canterbury. He secured the canonisation of his predecessor, Archbishop Fitzherbert, so that as Canterbury had its St. Thomas à Becket, Ripon its St. Wilfrid, Beverley its St. John, and Durham its St. Cuthbert, so York should have its St. William. In subsequent years this act had important consequences. Pilgrims poured in, bringing their offerings. Look at our great St. William Window, and the remains of his famous shrine. The Archbishop laid claim on the part of his see to the obedience of the Scottish Church, and once consecrated a Bishop to the see of Galloway. He maintained cordial relations with the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, both of whom were then members of the York Chapter. He was summoned by the King to protect the Papal Legate (when the Roman Church was in trouble through the death of Pope Gregory VII and the triumph of the Emperor Frederick), and sent messengers to remonstrate with the Emperor. Again and again he entertained the King at York, and when his daughter Margaret was married in this church to Alexander III, King of Scotland, he dispensed lavish hospitality. He gave sixty oxen for the feast, and provided supplies for all comers at a cost of 4,000 marks.

As the years advanced and King Henry became more extravagant and obstinate, the Archbishop's position grew difficult. He was unable to control the follies and caprices of his sovereign. Moreover, he was getting old and needing rest. So he began to excuse himself from being present at meetings of Parliament.

Yet such was the confidence reposed by Henry in his wisdom and influence that when the Queen went abroad to join her husband, the Archbishop was again made Regent. Upon the King's return he attended Parliament for the last time. Angry words were then spoken, for the country was indignant at the King's evil rule. An uncongenial spring with a prevalent north wind and absence of rain added to the general discomfort. Special prayers and fasting were resorted to. The aged Archbishop took part in these religious exercises with a rigorous assiduity that overtaxed his strength. His anxiety about the affairs of the kingdom affected both his head and heart. At the invitation of the Bishop of London he retired to Fulham to seek quiet, but within three days he died. He held his high office for nearly forty years, i.e. longer than any of his predecessors or successors. His body was embalmed, conveyed here in much solemnity, and buried in the Chantry Chapel which he had founded, and in the south transept which he had also built.

The fine monument which now marks the spot was soon afterwards put in hand. It is the oldest of its kind in the Minster. Take special note of it, for it doubtless gives an authentic likeness of the figure of the Archbishop. He is vested in his customary pontificals. He holds in his hands the pastoral staff thrust into the mouth of a dragon. He is represented as somewhat small of stature, slender, with delicate features, and wearing a slight beard and moustache. Do not fail to observe the finials of the canopy with the thrushes clinging to the woolsacks. Note that the thrush is oft called the " gray bird " in the north, and the woolsacks are reminders of the symbolic seat on which the Chancellor sits in the House of Lords. The railings are modern. Two living representatives of the De Gray family have generously offered to defray the cost of the renewal of the monument and dispense

with the iron stays that support it, but our architect's counsel is to let it alone and be content with suitable cleaning.

So far no reference has been made to the Archbishop's administration of the diocese and the spiritual duties attaching to his office. The see of York had been vacant four years when he was appointed. It was in such a state of neglect and disorder that it has been described as then a wilderness which the Archbishop left as a "fruitful garden." How was this brought about? We are in possession of unique original information. We have the registers recording the Archbishop's official acts for the greater part of the time he occupied the see. They emphatically testify to his piety and energy, and to the vigour and thoroughness of his administration. They show how carefully he took counsel with his clergy, holding two Diocesan Synods every year, encouraging Archidiaconal visitations and Ruridecanal Chapters, and arranging that the four dignitaries should be occasionally non-resident, so as to assist him by their advice in his journeys through the diocese. He did much to organise and extend the parochial system, checking abuses of patronage both by the Papacy and by laymen, forbidding hereditary succession to benefices, erecting and endowing churches and chapels in large parishes and appointing resident clergy to minister therein. He was evidently a first-rate man of business, and assured himself by personal inspection of the condition of the province and diocese. He is often called the greatest benefactor the Minster ever had, and virtually its second founder. He established our sub-deanery and sub-chantership. To the former he annexed the living of Preston. He founded the prebendal stalls of Wistow and Foston and Deighton. He ordained the College of Vicars-Choral. He attached the parishes of East Acklam and Waghen to the chancellorship. He appro-

priated Mapleton to the Archdeaconry of the East Riding, Therstall to the sub-chantership, and Withernwick to the prebend of Holme. He gave to the Dean and Chapter gold plate, studded with precious stones of great value, and jewels, which were amongst our treasures till the time of the Reformation and Commonwealth.

Then he was as careful and foreseeing in regard to the temporalities of the see as to its spiritualities. He purchased the village of St. Andrewthorpe and its manor, which is now called Bishopthorpe, and conveyed it to the Dean and Chapter as a residence for his successors. He also acquired and presented to the see a fine house in London, then called York Place and now Whitehall. He arranged that oxen and stock should be reserved on all the episcopal manors at the death of each prelate for the benefit of his successors. He left his old university—Oxford—a property called Black Hall. He gave large help to the Minsters of Beverley, Southwell, and Ripon, which were then attached to the see. In fact, he built the west front of Ripon, and translated to a new shrine there the remains of the founder, St. Wilfrid. But his greatest gifts were those appertaining to our own church. As already stated, his noblest work was the erection of the south transept. It is truly described as the "choicest portion of this holy temple, where the Early English style of architecture may be seen in the supremacy of its beauty. In boldness of arrangement and design and in richness of decoration the south transept is without a peer." Yet, as this writer truly adds, "how many of those who gaze with admiring eyes upon arcade and canopy are ignorant of the piety and merits, nay, of the very name, of the prelate who called them into being nearly seven centuries ago?"

But now, where does my text come in? and how apply "his works do follow him," and that in many

ways? Remember where the words occur. They are attached to the blessedness of those who "die in the Lord." They "rest from their labours"; but that is not all. What of their labours and works? They "follow them"; they do not die with them. They survive; they live on. What did our Blessed Lord say of the good work wrought by the woman with the alabaster box? "Wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her." Why? Not for her glorification, but to stimulate others to follow her holy example in honouring her Lord.

In like manner may we now say of such good works as I have tried to relate. They should provoke us to like zeal for the glory of God, and devotion to our Lord and His church and to the welfare of others, according to our means and opportunities. There are cups of cold water and little deeds we can offer, if we can do no great thing. Need I make suggestions? Is there nothing needed to be done in the Minster? Compare the untouched painted windows and their falling panes of glass with the renewed ones. Look at the bareness of the altar and fittings in the Ladye Chapel. Think of the diocese and of the Church at large. Their wants are legion and pressing. Who will not take even a humble part in continuing the benefactions of Archbishop de Gray? Again "their works do follow them," or as the Revised Version renders it, "follow with them." They do not go before them as meritorious claims for their acceptance by God and admission to heaven. No. When we have done all, we are only unprofitable servants. But they are fruits of grace and the outcome of the working of the Spirit of God. They are the offspring of faith and love and self-denial. They testify to Christian life and character. They show meetness for the

inheritance of the Saints. They are part of the just recompense and reward of the Righteous Judge. They are part of the promised harvest of seed sown here (according to the operation of material and spiritual laws), bringing forth fruit hereafter. "Whatsoever a man soweth . . .," "He that soweth plenteously . . .," etc. But more than this. The works following with us may be regarded as real elements in our joy in the eternal world. For mark: St. Paul speaks of his converts as his "crown of rejoicing" in the presence of God. He evidently looks forward to the happiness of others in the hereafter as adding to his own bliss and glory. What a vista does this truth open out! Who knows but that an essential part of the joys of Paradise and Heaven may not consist in there being brought home to us then and there the blessed effects on others of any and every little good work we have been privileged to do and to share in here below? Lay all this to heart and act on it. But remember we all that there are two kinds of works —good and evil; and the Judge before Whom we must all appear says: "I know thy works." Which shall follow each of us? May He help us to avoid the evil works and to do the good works He has prepared for us to walk in! May He give us grace so to follow the good examples of all His servants departed this life in His faith and fear, that we, with them, may be partakers of His Heavenly Kingdom!

This sermon was preached in York Minster 16 July 1922.

X

OUR BEHEADED ARCHBISHOP: RICHARD SCROPE

St. William's Day, 1405

"Partakers of Christ's sufferings."—1 St. Peter iv. 13.

Amongst the mysteries in this present life, foremost is that of suffering. It meets us in various forms—suffering in mind, body, spirit, heart, estate. It comes home to us all specially now in this terrible war. Its burden is best lessened and glorified when we bear in mind that Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, suffered. In some respects His sufferings were unique. They were redemptive, for He suffered for our sins. We in our sufferings can only humbly try to follow in His blessed steps by submission, patience, and obedience according to the will of God. If we are in living union with our Lord and Master, we must be prepared to share His experiences. If united to Jesus Christ as members of His Body, the Church, we must be ready to be partakers of His sufferings. In some form we must drink of His cup and be baptised with His baptism. And so throughout all the Christian centuries, in different ways and degrees, Christ's people have been called upon to be partakers of His sufferings.

Amongst those sufferers who have occupied conspicuous positions in Church and State, we may mention our two beheaded Archbishops, Laud of Canterbury and Scrope of York. Last week we were invited by some of our ecclesiastical newspapers to commemorate the execution of Archbishop Laud on

January tenth. There are many reasons which suggest it to me as part of my duty as Chancellor to invite you to recall the story of Richard Scrope. It takes us back to the times when the results of feudalism were shown in the outstanding position, influence, and wealth of the great nobles. Amongst the leading barons of the North were the Scropes—all great soldiers and great statesmen or great lawyers. Richard, the future Archbishop, was a son of the Lord of Masham. Born about 1350, he studied law, and at the age of twenty-six was ordained in the household of Arundel, Bishop of Ely, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. After holding various appointments, including a canonry in this Cathedral and the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge and Deanery of Chichester, he was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1386, and thus coming into close contact with King Richard II was entrusted by him with several affairs of State. When Archbishop Waldby died, at the request of the King he was translated to the see of York in June 1398. The year following witnessed the deposition of the weak and despotic Richard.

Now, Scrope not only acquiesced in this revolution but received at the Tower Richard's renunciation of the crown ; he addressed Parliament next day on the text, " I have set My words in thy mouth," and read the King's surrender, and joined the Archbishop of Canterbury in crowning Henry IV. For a time he remained faithful to the new sovereign and helped to raise money on his behalf. His loyalty seems to have been shaken by the discontent of the Percys, with whom he was closely connected. But he appears to have taken no active part in their rising in 1403, and indeed, when King Henry received Percy's submission at York, the Archbishop celebrated High Mass in this Minster. The government of Henry went from bad to worse, and Scrope joined the Archbishop of

Canterbury in protesting against the spoliation of the Church. In what followed there may be some uncertainty as to the exact part taken by our Archbishop, but he was again closely associated with Northumberland and his friends in opposition to the King's continued bad government, and drew up articles of indictment in which real blots were set forth and needed reforms were laid down. It is impossible to say for certain whether the Archbishop was the actual author of another larger manifesto in which he declared he was not going to be content with less than the King's deposition ; but this manifesto was attached to the gates of the Minster and the entrances of the churches with his authority, and the Archbishop himself expounded it here. However, the citizens and neighbouring people flocked armed into York at the summons of the Archbishop, who appeared amongst them in armour, urging them to stand fast ; promising them indulgences and, if they fell, remission of their sins.

A standard was set up emblazoned with the five wounds of our blessed Lord. Eight thousand men, at least, were thus got together, and they went forth to meet their confederates, Northumberland and his followers. The King, hearing of this rebellion, came north. He assembled his forces at Pontefract under the Earl of Westmorland. The armies confronted one another at Shipton Moor. Then Westmorland beguiled Scrope and his friends to a conference. A parley followed. Scrope and his party were persuaded to disband their adherents, whilst Westmorland promised that the King should consider their grievances. When this was agreed to, the Archbishop and his companions were treacherously arrested and taken to Pontefract, where the King soon arrived. Scrope sought an interview. This Henry refused, but he sent Sir T. Beaufort to take away his crozier, which the

Archbishop only relinquished after a sharp tussle. The King brought his prisoners to Bishopthorpe, and the trial of the Archbishop took place in the dining-hall.

What then happened briefly runs thus: Henry commanded Sir William Gascoigne, Lord Chief Justice of England, to pronounce sentence against the Archbishop as a traitor. But that upright judge answered: "Neither you, my Lord the King, nor any liegeman of yours, can legally adjudge any Bishop to death." Then Henry, greatly incensed, commanded Sir William Falthorpe, a lawyer but no judge, to pronounce sentence of death. This man servilely obeyed, and, mounted on a high stage, the Archbishop standing bareheaded before him, ordered him to be beheaded, as a traitor, by the King's command. Scrope repudiated any intention of injuring the King or his realm, and besought the bystanders that God's vengeance should not fall heavy on his house.

The execution immediately followed. Attired in a scarlet cloak and hood, and mounted on a collier's horse scarcely worth forty pence, without a saddle and with his face to the tail, he was conducted towards York. On his way he sang the fifty-fifth Psalm, "Exaudi." He cheered his companions in misfortune. He remarked to the bystanders that he died for the laws and government of England. He prayed, and said, "Almighty God, I offer up myself and the cause for which I suffer, and beg pardon of Thee for all I have committed or omitted." When his turn came to die, he begged the headsman to deal five blows at his neck for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, "Who, being for us obedient to His Father unto death, bore five principal wounds in His body." He kissed the executioner thrice, and kneeling down prayed, "Into Thy hands, most sweet Jesu, I commend my spirit." Then stretching out his hands and crossing his breast,

he bent his neck for the fatal strokes. When his head fell at the fifth stroke, a faint smile, it was said, still played over his features. The execution took place on June eighth, a Whit Monday, the Feast of St. William of York, and is said to have been carried out in a barley-field about opposite to St. Clement's Rectory.

At night the body was conveyed by four vicars-choral to our Ladye Chapel and laid in the north-east corner in what was afterwards known as St. Stephen's Chapel. The tomb soon became a place of pilgrimage, and after three months the Government had it covered with logs of wood and heavy stones to keep the people off. Later on permission was given to make offerings at the spot, and the large sums thus contributed were devoted to the reconstruction of our great central tower. Doubtless it was about this time that the north aisle was built, and its curious and interesting figures and devices were carved on the capitals which are said to give the monks' version of the tragedy : for instance, King Henry is represented as a boy caught stealing fruit and being flogged : the unjust Judge Falthorpe is depicted as a bear hugging to death his victim ; the Archbishop is shown as an innocent swan with feet fast in stocks shaped like letter " H " (initials of King Henry). (For full description, see Browne's *History*.)

Great veneration continued to be paid to the tomb of the Archbishop, yet he never received ecclesiastical recognition as a saint or a martyr, in spite of the appeals of the Convocation of York in 1462 ; but he was commonly known in the North as St. Richard Scrope, and in prayers he was spoken of as " the glory of York and the martyr of Christ." It should also be borne in mind that though the Archbishop's execution was a direct violation of the canon law, Pope Gregory XII subsequently absolved King Henry, and took off the excommunication that had been issued by his

predecessor, Innocent VII. Popular devotion was paid to the tomb until the Reformation, when shrines and chantries were stripped of their treasures. No chapel in the North contained a more costly array of jewels than those laid on this spot.

There are two other incidents to be noted in connection with this tomb. On the occasion of Martin's fire in 1829, the falling of the roof of the Ladye Chapel smashed and mutilated several of the tombs beneath, and amongst them that of Archbishop Scrope. A great part of the stonework was broken down and destroyed. The tomb itself was then opened, and the headless body of a tall man was seen by Archdeacon Creyke and others. The separated head had been placed between the left arm and the body. The remains were covered over with the greatest decency, and a plain tomb built up over it, which remained unaltered until three years ago.

Then a further incident occurred. One of our vergers was taking some visitors over the Minster and pointed out the tomb of Scrope. A member of the party remarked, that was strange, for what purported to be the tomb of the Archbishop was shown in a neighbouring garden. Inquiries were instituted, and it was ascertained that some large emblazoned tombstones were set up in the grounds of Boroughbridge Hall. The owner, Mr. A. Lawson, was seen; the spot was visited, and then it became clear that when the débris of the fire were removed, the principal sides of the tomb in fairly good order were removed and picturesquely placed under a weeping ash tree in the place referred to. Our late Dean was subsequently taken to the spot, and confirmed the explanation here given. Mr. Lawson generously offered to return the chief sides of the tomb, and to restore it, at his own expense, to its former place. This was accordingly done, and so, hard by in the original tomb, rests the

body of this great sufferer, awaiting the morning of the Resurrection. The only other relic of him that remains is his mazer, or maple pardon-bowl, given by him to the Cordwainers, and still shown in our Treasury.

What shall we say of Archbishop Scrope? He was certainly a pattern of courtesy and humility, affable to the meanest and respected by the noblest. He was the friend and defender of the poor. He was learned, but not elated with the conceit of his knowledge. He was deeply religious, and, unsatisfied with the daily keeping of the Divine Office, he devoted several hours to private prayer and the practice of much mortification. His high character, his purity of life, his simplicity, and his gravity are witnessed to by writers friendly to King Henry. Our late Dean describes him as "loyal to his King, his country, his Church, and to himself." It may be truly said that "he was a martyr to his cause and an uncanonised saint." Whether or not in cold truth he can be regarded as a traitor to the King is not easy to decide. We do not know the exact oaths of loyalty he originally took, but his conduct seems to have been specially inconsistent. He raised no voice against Henry's usurpation, and, indeed, helped to crown him. Yet it was by his "good advice and counsel" that the standard of rebellion was raised, though it is reasonable to believe that in giving this counsel he was acting in accordance with the dictates of conscience, as guided by changing circumstances. He lived in times and under conditions totally different from our own. Kings then were in the habit of despotically executing their subjects. The Archbishop's cousin William had been already executed by Henry, and the Archbishop himself, with his fighting instincts, must have known that "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." But he must have passed through acute suffering of mind, body, soul, and spirit, and when condemned unjustly as a traitor must have

been sustained by the conviction that his Divine Lord and Saviour had been charged with a similar crime and had unjustly suffered. In setting up the standard of the five wounds he must have faced the possibilities. The iron must have entered into his soul. But he was content to follow his Master's steps and look forward to share his Master's glory.

Friends and brethren, in pondering these stories of the past it is well for us to bear in mind that they illustrate and enforce essential laws of the Christian life. We are by profession followers of Jesus Christ. "The disciple is not above his master; when perfect, he is to be as his Master." It was by suffering that He was perfected; so must it be with us, be the form of suffering what it may, known to the world or unknown. Be the station we occupy what it may, obscure or conspicuous, every office or position brings its own cross, its own suffering. If faithful "partakers of the sufferings of Christ," we shall also be "partakers of the glory to be revealed." The cross precedes the crown.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 14 January 1917.

XI

A MEDIÆVAL ARCHBISHOP AND HIS WILLS: THOMAS ROTHERHAM (OR SCOTT)

"God be merciful to me a sinner."—LUKE xviii. 13.
"He endured the cross."—HEBREWS xii. 2.
"God loveth a cheerful giver."—2 CORINTHIANS ix. 7.

I take these three texts because they are illustrated in the life and character of one of our greatest mediæval Archbishops—Scott or Rotherham. For several reasons it seems to be my duty to invite attention to his history. He is often called Scott. This alternative name is explained by the fact that his family originally bore this name, but about two generations before the future Archbishop's time, Rotherham was substituted for Scott, as being the place where the family lived and held property. However, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1423, a son was born to Sir Thomas Rotherham, and the Archbishop tells us in one of his famous wills "he was baptised in the font in the same town, the holy bath flowing from the side of Jesus," and adds, "Oh, would that I loved Him as I ought." As to his early education, Archbishop Rotherham says: "There was a teacher of grammar in the town, who came there, I believe, by the grace of God and taught me and others;" and later on, when about to establish a school and college at Rotherham, he writes: "Desiring to return thanks to the Saviour and be not ungrateful of the benefits of God, we have determined to cause a like fountain to flow and establish a teacher of grammar there for ever." At the age of twenty he entered King's College, Cambridge (founded shortly before by King

Henry VI). He proceeded to his degrees and fellowship, and took holy orders. He was summoned from there by Archbishop Bouchier, of Canterbury, to be Provost of Wingham, in Kent, and so was brought into close association with the southern Primate, who often resided in that district. About the same time he was made chaplain to De Vere, the Earl of Oxford, a stout supporter of the Red Rose of Lancaster. In his retinue he doubtless first met the " beautiful Elizabeth Woodville," then Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Margaret of Anjou. She, too, was then a staunch Lancastrian, and with her fortunes his rise and fall were hereafter closely linked.

The terrible Wars of the Roses had already begun. The battle of St. Albans had been fought and won by the Yorkists, and the battle of Wakefield had been won by the Lancastrians. The young Duke of York had come to the front, and after Mortimer's Cross Henry VI, the last King of the House of Lancaster, was deposed, whereupon the Duke of York was called to the Throne as Edward IV. It concerns us here to notice that the Earl of Oxford was Rotherham's friend. He and others have been executed on the scaffold. What now seems to be the position of Chaplain Rotherham ? He seems to have changed sides, and is becoming a favourite with the young Yorkist King. How was this ? Was it a case of sacrificing political views for private interests ? Was it a turning of his back upon old friends and bowing down to the rising sun ? So it has been said, and further suggested that here we have a clue to those deep confessions of sin and unworthiness with which his wills abound. But it must be borne in mind that Rotherham was a Yorkshireman, and that circumstances sometimes alter cases. They had taken him away from Yorkshire to Kent, a Lancastrian stronghold. Archbishop Bouchier, his influential patron, was a Yorkist, and Elizabeth

Woodville, formerly a Lancastrian, was soon to be the wife of Edward, a Yorkist King. Rotherham himself is silent about the change. The materials do not exist that will enable us to form a just conclusion. But portraits sometimes tell true tales. An engraving of one of Rotherham's portraits hangs in York Minster Library. Look at it. What is the impression conveyed by studying the features and expression of the face? Surely that of a holy and humble man of God, with an upward look—pensive, nervous, gentle, tender-hearted. It is difficult to conceive that such a one would violate his conscience from selfish motives. But this seems to be certain, that this sensitive, godly ecclesiastic, whose lot was cast in troublous times without parallel in English history, must have passed through grave searchings of heart and trials of faith before he saw clearly the path of duty. In many ways "he endured the cross."

But to resume my story. The influence of the young King's beautiful wife was naturally great. She had reason to know Rotherham's abilities and force of character. He had already obtained further preferment in the dioceses of London and Worcester. He was also Provost of Beverley and Archdeacon of Canterbury. Now he was appointed Chaplain to the King and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and was brought into close personal contact with his royal master. When the Bishopric of Rochester became vacant, it was no wonder that, probably aided by Bouchier's influence, he was called upon to occupy the see.

At that time serious differences had arisen between France and England. A capable, shrewd, and tactful person was needed to represent England. Who had already proved himself so trusty in counsel and in action as Rotherham? So he was sent to the French Court as sole ambassador. In that capacity he was so successful that new distinctions awaited him. His

own university elected him as its Chancellor, and this honour was four times renewed. He has left his mark there, and it is seen to this day in the schools, in the library, and on the Church of St. Mary. Well may he still be commemorated amongst its great benefactors!

Little is known as to his work as Bishop of Rochester, but in his last will he bequeathed money to the see for founding a library, speaking of it as the place where he first ruled, and adding, "Would that the charge had been undertaken to the salvation of my soul!"

In 1471 the important see of Lincoln became vacant. To this Rotherham was transferred, and so began his connection with the University of Oxford, then within the boundaries of the diocese. As Bishop of Lincoln he became Visitor of Lincoln College. In a sermon preached before him the needs of this college were brought to his notice. He at once set about devoting himself to its interests. His works of faith and labours of love for its welfare remain to this day. Now for seven years Rotherham had been serving King and country in Church and State.

In 1472 the Lord High Chancellorship became vacant, and Rotherham succeeded to this, the highest judicial office in the realm. This position involved him in great responsibilities, and brought with it real anxieties and painful disagreements.

It must have been no small matter to come into serious conflict with the Lord Chief Justice and other judges. On at least one occasion they threatened to ignore his decision. However, he did much to popularise legal procedure, and is referred to by Lord Campbell as "the greatest equity lawyer of his age." As Lord Chancellor he presided over Parliament and opened and closed the sessions with formal addresses. Outlines of them can be read in the Rolls of Parliament. They dealt with current problems at home and abroad. War with France seemed to be impending. Rotherham

treated the situation with skill and success. In the interests of his royal master he persuaded the Commons to vote large supplies. He further helped the King by raising so-called benevolences (not altogether voluntary). Eventually war was determined on, and a large army invaded France. Rotherham was summoned to accompany the King. However, peace was patched up, Rotherham doubtless acting as chief peacemaker and receiving for his services an annual pension of 2,000 marks from the French King.

But I must pass over the details and refer to the appointment with which we are more closely interested. Lawrence Booth, the younger of the two brothers who became Archbishops of York (he was also Master of Pembroke, Cambridge), died early in 1480. Rotherham, though no longer Chancellor of the University, was invited to succeed him, and later in the same year was elevated to our own Archbishopric. He appears to have left no special mark in the diocese of Lincoln. He was constantly away from it, occupied with State affairs, and took only eleven ordinations during his eight years' tenure of the see. But in his last will he bequeathed to it money, his mitre, and pastoral staff, adding as to Lincoln, "Would that I had ruled it as I ought to have done!"

The chief political event after he became Archbishop was the impeachment of the King's brother Clarence for treachery, and his "execution"—possibly by drowning in a butt of malmsey wine. But Rotherham declined to preside over Parliament on that occasion. He said it involved blood, and he was a man of peace. We, however, cannot doubt but that he must have endured no small cross, and to some extent shared the King's unfeigned grief so vividly portrayed by Shakespeare in the play of *Richard III.*

In 1483 the Archbishop Chancellor (now also a cardinal) opened Parliament for the last time, taking

for his text, " The Lord is my light and my salvation." Within three weeks Edward IV was on his death-bed. His favourite chaplain, Archbishop Rotherham, was present, and administered the last rites of the Church. The King binds his relations and courtiers to reconciliation and peace. He entrusts to their safe guarding his wife and children, and especially Prince Edward and the Duke of York. So he dies. The Archbishop took the principal part at the funeral obsequies. He rode before the royal hearse. Arrived at Windsor, he conducted the last offices, and declared that he would be true to his word and faithful to the widowed Queen and her two boys. They set out with a little escort for London, under the care of their mother's brother, Lord Rivers, but are seized on the way by their uncle, the humpbacked Richard, Duke of Gloucester. News of their capture is at once taken to the Queen-mother, and to the Archbishop, then at York House, in London. The chronicler tells us: " The messenger was brought to the Archbishop's bedside, whereupon he called up his servants before daylight. He took with him the Great Seal, and came to the Queen, about whom he found much heaviness. She sat alone on the rushes all desolate. He comforted her in the best manner he could. ' Madam (quoth he) if they crown any other King than your son we shall on the morrow crown his brother, and here is the Great Seal. Like as your noble husband delivered it over to me, so I deliver it to you for the use of your son.' "

This surrender of the Great Seal into Elizabeth's hands was an act which he perceived next morning to be unauthorised on grounds of State. So he at once sent for it and recovered it. But what he had done under impulse and chivalrous faith and warm-hearted regard involved his downfall. I must not pursue the history further except to state that the wicked Duke

of Gloucester usurped the throne ; that the boy king Edward and his brother were committed to the Tower and smothered ; that Rotherham was removed from the Chancellorship and imprisoned in the Tower, and remained there until after the coronation of Richard III. So " he endured a cross " which has fallen to the lot of few great ecclesiastics. His career as a statesman came to an end.

When the new King afterwards visited York with much pomp, Rotherham appears to have been absent. The King and Queen occupied his palace (the ruins of which are still to be seen). The Bishop of Durham conducted the service at the Minster. However, the Archbishop resumed his duties. In those days they were largely those of a feudal baron rather than those which are now associated with the episcopal office. He himself when Archbishop never held a single ordination, and rarely instituted an incumbent to a benefice. He lived on for seventeen years, and saw the union of the rival Roses when Henry VII of Lancaster married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV of York.

Emphatic testimony must be borne to his unbounded munificence. Immense sums must have been spent by him in acquiring and improving the many manors and residences attached to the see. He built the north wing of the Palace at Bishopthorpe, and often resided at Cawood. He must have spent no little time in making his many wills, written in his own hand. The first of them we possess was made when he was fifty-two years old. The last, twenty-three years afterwards, is described by Chancellor Raine as " the most splendid will in existence of a mediæval bishop." After a solemn invocation commending his soul to God, he leaves properties and legacies to various members of his family, and gifts to his old dioceses and benefices ; to this Minster, a mitre worth 500 marks and a gilt statue of St. Margaret ; £100 to the Vicars-Choral ; gifts to

his household, and additional gifts to his College of Jesus at Rotherham. He concludes thus: "I bear witness that in the passion of Christ and in the sacraments of the Church (which draw their virtue therefrom) I place the hope of the salvation of my soul; and that in no article of faith do I doubt; and that if by chance through infirmity or any cause, in the last wrestle, I pronounce otherwise, I disown the words, abhorring now and ever everything repugnant to the spouse of Christ, His Holy Church, for as a true Christian I yearn to die; so I pray and pray again that I may so die. Amen! Amen!" Nothing was more striking than his reiterated confession of sin. He wrote thus: "I know that my sins deserve infinite punishment, but they cannot terrify me, for the death of my Lord has come into my mind. In the wounds of His body I desire to hide myself, and in the blood flowing from them I would wash them away through the grace of our blessed Lord Jesus." Again he longs for the infinite mercy of God, and writes: "I pray for my sins, for which I am grieved and sorrowful, and for which I am sufficiently penitent. May the Lord Jesus have pity on my sins and deign to turn away His face from them." Some have supposed that the frequency and intensity of words like these point to some special acts of sin still burdening his conscience. But may they not rather be the natural conviction of one who lived in the faith, fear, and love of God and regarding himself in the full light of the Saviour's Cross, Passion, and atoning Death? Which of us does not need to take up, as he did, the cry of the publican, "God be merciful to me the sinner"? This reference to the Archbishop's wills prompts me, in the words of our Book of Common Prayer, "to admonish all who it may concern to make their wills whilst they are in health." Recent and frequent experiences have borne in upon me the folly and unkindness of postponing and neglect-

ing to leave a will, unless there be a deliberate intention to do so and leave the law of inheritance to take its course.

Archbishop Rotherham died of plague at Cawood on 29 May 1500, and was in the first instance interred there. Some six years afterwards, when I suppose all risk of infection had passed away, his remains were brought to York, met at Micklegate by the Dean and Chapter and other dignitaries, by the Lord Mayor and citizens, and solemnly buried in the Minster, beneath a tomb which he had himself built in his lifetime in a chantry within the Ladye Chapel. The vault was opened in 1736, when the remains were seen, together with a wooden head, with a stick through the neck, supposed to be a representation of the Archbishop. This head is still in the Minster treasury. The original marble tomb was much damaged in the fire of 1829. Its brass ornaments then disappeared. It was afterwards renewed by the authorities of Lincoln College, and as it awkwardly blocked the gangway in our Ladye Chapel, it was recently removed with the concurrence of Lincoln College, and now forms the altar of our St. Nicholas Chapel. Of course the bones remain in the original vault. A splendid frontal for this altar has lately been worked and given " in memory of a former worshipper of this church." I will not venture to make any further comments upon the character of this great prelate ; surely the texts chosen give us the keys to his life. He was certainly a " cheerful giver." In this, as in other respects, he has left us an example that we should all strive to follow according to our means and opportunity.

Can there be any more worthy object than this holy and beautiful house of God, hallowed by the worship of thirteen hundred years ? The time seems to have gone by when Archbishops and others in high positions had it in their power to give much of their worldly

substance. But there is wealth in the county and in the country, though much of it has been passing out of the hands of the old possessors and is lodged in new hands. There are not only commercial magnates but persons in the middle and working classes whom God has prospered, who might be benefactors to the Minster and render glory to God in helping to hand on to posterity such priceless treasures as our unique painted glass windows and their decaying tracery. There are also many other renewals and improvements awaiting attention.

May we one and all emulate King David, who set his affection " to the house of his God, and had a treasure which he gave unto the house of his God. Who then offereth willingly to fill his hand "—as did David and Archbishop Rotherham—and " consecrate himself unto the Lord " ?

This sermon was preached in York Minster 23 January 1921.

XII

JOHN SHARP,[1] ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, 1691–1713: QUEEN ANNE'S COUNSELLOR

I. Outer Life

"The honourable man, and the counsellor, and the eloquent orator."—Isaiah iii. 3.

"Able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince."—Titus i. 9.

On the south side of the altar in our Ladye Chapel there is a fine monument to Archbishop Sharp. He is represented in a reclining attitude, holding a book in his right hand and with his left hand resting on a cushion. Authorities concur in speaking of him in the highest terms. Lord Macaulay describes him as "amiable and benevolent—one of the best and wisest prelates of his days." Another calls him a "real saint—a holy and humble man of God—unspoilt by his elevation." Yet another, "one whose example as a man, a scholar, a divine and diocesan, challenges attention." The texts I have already quoted seem to be specially illustrated in his life and character. Surely it is desirable that we who worship in this Cathedral, and, I hope, treasure its associations, should have some knowledge of this eminent Archbishop. A brief outline must suffice.

He was a Yorkshireman, born and bred at Bradford. His father was a Puritan and a friend of Fairfax. He himself tells us of the deep impression made upon him by his father's prayers. His mother was a Royalist

[1] It should be noted that there was another Archbishop Sharp, James, of St. Andrews. Born 1613—murdered 1679.

who taught him to love the Book of Common Prayer. Their combined influence was manifestly instrumental in moulding his after-life. Parents and children, note it and apply. At school, by his father's request, he was taught to write shorthand, and had to take notes of the sermons in church and reproduce afterwards what had been said. This explains many of the unusual details which have come down to us as to his thoughts, words, and acts.

At Cambridge he showed great diligence in his studies, and was proficient in classics, chemistry, and botany, and fond of poetry. We are told that he was gifted with a beautiful voice, and read the lessons in his college chapel in a clear and intelligent manner. This good reading was the stepping-stone which led, in the providence of God, to all his subsequent and unsought preferments. Sir Heneage Finch, Solicitor-General, required a domestic chaplain and private tutor, and applied to the celebrated Platonist, Henry More, to recommend him a suitable man. John Sharp, marked out from others by his excellent reading, was named. Accordingly he took up his residence with Sir Heneage, himself known as the " silver-tongued English Cicero." They two soon became firm friends. It was not long before Sharp was made Archdeacon of Berks. Later on, when Finch became Lord Chancellor, Sharp was his adviser in ecclesiastical affairs. After other preferments, in two years he was appointed Rector of St. Giles, London. In this new sphere he rapidly gained the reputation of being one of the best preachers of the day. He occupied his pulpit twice every Sunday and once on weekdays. His sermons were described as well composed, fresh, simple, and adapted to his hearers. They were also well delivered. His voice was pleasant and persuasive. He sought to win the affections and influence the life. There was a pathos in his delivery which kept the attention of his hearers.

Bishop Burnet (who never flattered him) affirms that he had "a peculiar gift of delivery, vigorous with life and zeal, though he might be wanting in knowledge of the world." He was called upon to preach at the Yorkshire Feast and at the election of the Lord Mayor of London. But his parochial duties were not neglected. He was diligent in catechising the young and in visiting the sick. His reading of the Church service, and especially that at the celebration of the Holy Communion, was solemn and arresting. My brother-clergy, let us take note and so far as in us lies try to attain his high ideal. He was regarded as an expert whose opinion was often sought and given in questions of conscience. For instance, we still have the counsel he gave to an inquirer who had scruples about the possession of land that had formerly belonged to an Abbey; another as to the marriage of a Roman Catholic priest converted to Protestantism; another as to whether or not a certain marriage was within the prohibited degrees. We are not surprised to hear that he was chosen to succeed his friend Tillotson as the popular lecturer at St. Lawrence Jewry. He declared that he would not preach political discourses nor meddle in disputes of law. He "would not have the Cathedra Christi a stage of contention."

We are not surprised to find that at the age of thirty-six he was appointed Dean of Norwich, though still retaining the rectory of St. Giles. This new office brought with it new duties and new opportunities. It was regarded by him as the beginning of a new life. He speaks of it as such, calling it his birthday. He began at once to keep a shorthand diary. On the death of King Charles II in 1685, his brother James succeeded to the throne. Dean Sharp was asked by the Corporation of London to draw up their address of congratulation to the new King, who soon afterwards appointed him to be one of the Royal Chaplains. The King,

though a Roman Catholic, promised to support and defend the Church of England, but soon began in the interests of Romanism to try to secure the repeal of the Test Act. The times were difficult and troublous. Serious attempts at proselytising were being made by Roman Catholic advocates. Some of Sharp's parishioners, being unsettled, appealed to him for guidance. As " an honourable man and a counsellor," " able by sound doctrine to exhort," he was bound to try to establish them in what he believed to be the truth. Accordingly, he preached at St. Giles two sermons, described as " amiable," against the pretensions of the Church of Rome. But what he said was distorted and repeated to the King, who ordered Bishop Compton of London to suspend the preacher. This the Bishop refused to do, but he advised the Dean to retire for a time to Norwich. Afterwards, by the intervention of the famous Judge Jeffreys, Sharp was reinstated in the royal favour. But the King, foiled in obtaining the repeal of the Test Act, published the Declaration of Indulgence or Toleration. The real object of this was to advance the cause of the Roman Catholics without offending the Presbyterians and Quakers.

Next year the King, who by this time had welcomed a Papal Legate to the English Court, caused the Bishop of London to be suspended, appointed a High Commission to control the affairs of the Church of England, re-issued the Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered the clergy to read it publicly in their churches on two successive Sundays. The London clergy (Sharp amongst them) and many others declined to obey this order. The Dean, summoned to appear before the High Commission, affirmed that his obedience due to the King went no further than " all things lawful and honest." In this he was practically at one with the seven Bishops, who refused to comply and declared

that they could not in conscience become parties to it. They were committed to the Tower, tried for sedition, and acquitted. This trial, and the birth of a child subsequently known as the Pretender, precipitated the Revolution, the passing of the Act of Settlement and the Declaration of Rights, under which William III, Prince of Orange, the King's nephew, and Mary, his daughter, ascended to the throne.

These were turning points in Dr. Sharp's life. Early in 1689 he preached before the Prince of Orange, and three days after before the Court. He then showed his independence and courage. On each occasion he used the Liturgy of the Church of England, and prayed for King James, as the House of Lords had not yet concurred in his abdication. Soon afterwards he preached before Queen Mary, and was taken into no small favour. Before the year was out, he was appointed Dean of Canterbury in succession to Tillotson, made Archbishop. He was also chosen as a Commissioner for the reform of the Liturgy and of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It is strange to note that these burning subjects after two centuries are not yet burnt out and settled.

Five of the seven Bishops, together with five other English diocesans, had already declined to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns. Six of them had lived to be deprived of their sees (under the Act which prescribed the oath). Sharp was offered his choice of any of the sees so vacated, but declined acceptance of any see of which the deprived Bishop was yet alive. Shortly afterwards, at the earnest entreaty of Tillotson, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, he agreed to accept the see of York, and so did not run counter to his previous resolve. Accordingly, in 1691, he succeeded Archbishop Lamplugh. Lord Macaulay remarks: "He was the highest Churchman, zealous

for comprehension, and the lowest that felt a scruple about succeeding a deprived prelate." The historian Thoresby says that "his appointment was not only an honour to his native county, but was regarded with universal satisfaction and joy by the whole nation." He was consecrated by his friend Tillotson, and he at once began to make inquiries as to the rights and revenues of the see, and prepared a history of the Archbishops from Paulinus to his predecessor, Lamplugh. This book, written in MS., is contained in four folio volumes. One of his early acts was to secure a Bishop for the see of Sodor and Man, which had been vacant for five years. The saintly and self-denying Thomas Wilson was appointed. Sharp visited and regulated the Chapter of Southwell Minster, then in this diocese, and subsequently, after a serious fire had damaged the cathedral, he raised the greater part of the money needed for its repair.

So far as was possible Sharp kept aloof from politics, except where they concerned the Church. He was a friend of the future House of Hanover, and was opposed to annual Parliaments as prejudicial to the royal prerogative; but he showed conspicuous courage and independence in voting against the attainder of Sir John Fenwick, in spite of the King's opinion as given at a personal interview. When charges were brought against Dr. Atterbury (afterwards Bishop of Rochester) for complicity in a Jacobite plot, he read forty times certain passages in his writings which were thought to question the King's supremacy. His guiding principle was, the laws of the land are our rule. On the accession and coronation of Queen Anne in 1702 he preached a sermon described as short and impressive and printed at her express desire. His chief biographer states that "in Church matters he was her principal guide, and in matters of State her confidant." She had frequent conferences with him, and he tells us in his

diary she once said, "I should be her confessor and she should be mine," and he also wrote, "All our talk was about religion." The Archbishop never abused her confidence, and in some matters showed his independence by voting against her wishes. He was made her almoner, and induced her to restore to the Church, for the benefit of the clergy, the first fruits of benefices, hitherto part of the revenues of the Crown—hence called Queen Anne's Bounty. He supported its extension to the Church of Ireland. He procured help for the Episcopal clergy of Scotland, who had been hardly treated by the Presbyterians. Amongst them was the Archbishop of Glasgow, burdened with years and infirmities, in deep poverty, with eleven children more or less dependent. He also obtained relief for foreign Protestants such as the Swiss Vaudois. It is interesting to us now to learn that he was friendly with the Greek Church, assisted the Bishop of Thebais in Egypt, and helped the Armenian Bishops who came to England to raise money to print the Bible in their mother-tongue. He also promoted the building of an English church at Rotterdam. He acted as mediator in disputes between the two Houses of Convocation. He favoured a Revision of the Liturgy, and preferred the office of the Holy Communion in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. He caused the Liturgy of the Church of England to be translated into Dutch, in the hope that he might thus unite Lutherans and Calvinists, and so introduce Episcopacy into Prussia, but the negotiations came to an end with the death of King Frederick I. He was friendly with persons of such different views as Baxter, author of *The Saints' Rest*, and Robert Nelson, author of *Fasts and Festivals*, who had been a Nonconformist. He was instrumental in the promotion of Bishops Beveridge, Potter, Bull, and Dean Prideaux. He prevented Dean Swift from being ap-

pointed to the see of Bristol, saying to the Queen, "Ought not your Majesty to be assured that the Dean is a Christian before he be made a Bishop?" giving her a copy of his *A Tale of a Tub*, which he regarded as a polemic romance. His last interview with the Queen was in May 1713, when in failing health he secured the promotion of Sir William Dawes, the Bishop of Chester, as his successor.

Dr. Sharp was remarkably thorough and thoughtful in his diocesan administrations. It is stated that his inquiries at visitations were not completed for six years. His charges were weighty. His dealings with the clergy were kindly and considerate. He was impartial in the exercise of his patronage. He was scrupulous in examining candidates for ordination. He deprecated railing at dissenters. He favoured measures to oblige men to go to some place of worship and not stay at home on the Lord's Day. For twenty-three years, in spite of frequent attacks of quartan ague, accompanied by a tendency to melancholy, he diligently and successfully fulfilled the manifold duties of his high office. At the same time he was able to cultivate his personal tastes. He loved poetry, and used to say that the Bible and Shakespeare had made him Archbishop. He was a person of remarkable versatility. His hobby was collecting coins; a treatise of his on this subject was so valuable that it was published fifty years after his decease. He was fond of gardening, and laid out the grassplots and planted the famous lime-tree avenue at Bishopthorpe. He fasted regularly, and spent much time in prayer. His diary, written up daily after he became Archbishop, reveals his secret thoughts and his inner spiritual life. This is so important and practically helpful that I hope to deal with it upon some future occasion.

After an illness of some weeks' duration, he died at Bath 2 February 1714, and was the last Archbishop

buried in the Minster. On the monument erected to his memory is a Latin inscription written by Bishop Smalridge of Bristol, part of which in English reads thus : " In conversation he was courteous, unreserved, and affable ; in his preaching he was fluent, warm, and nervous ; in solving the difficulties of ecclesiastical theology, clear, acute, and ready in removing the scruples of the doubtful ; though inclined by the sweetness of his temper to the milder part, yet always a most faithful guardian of equity and rectitude. By the primitive simplicity of his manners, by the blameless tenor of his life, by his kind and liberal attention to the wants of the afflicted, by his unconfined benevolence towards all, by a singular uniform and affectionate concern for the interests of his friends, he shone, amidst the darkness of a less worthy age, with a glory equal to the lights of the purer times. So fervent were his affections towards heavenly things, that, intent on them alone and in them alone insatiable, all earthly things seemed to him unimportant, worthless, and contemptible. Such was the ardour of his piety towards God, that he loved Him with all his heart and testified it in all his conduct. His mind, and even his eye, seemed to be continually sensible of His universal power and perpetual inspection. To all this public excellence he added every domestic virtue—the kindest husband, the tenderest father, and beloved by his wife and children with trust and most perfect affection." This is high eulogy. Let this monument stimulate us, " as good stewards of the manifold grace of God, to abound more and more in virtue and knowledge, and do all such good works as God has prepared for us to walk in."

This sermon was preached in York Minster 22 July 1923.

II. Inner Life

"Enoch walked with God."—Genesis v. 24.

Upon a recent occasion I gave an outline of the life of Archbishop Sharp. What was then said referred almost exclusively to his outward public life, known and seen by all. Behind this there was (as with all of us) the inward and spiritual life, fully known by God alone. There seem to be special reasons to treat of this if trustworthy and adequate materials exist, and such is the case in regard to this prelate. Therefore I venture to make this attempt. For these monuments that surround us here are far more than bare commemorations of the departed. They should bear witness to striking features of character, to splendid achievements, to vital truths, to good works which we do well to bear in mind. They set before us examples to stimulate us to thought and action. Each and all of them have some lessons to teach successive generations. Conspicuous amongst them is that to Archbishop Sharp. It strikes the eye as we look towards the right-hand side of the beautiful altar in the Ladye Chapel. What, then, are some of the thoughts and lessons that the sight of it may awaken? And how is it that the materials exist for profitable meditation? The answer is, we have not only an excellent biography of his life and letters, but we have also a private diary written originally by himself—not a mere record of his official duties and private engagements, but a careful account of his personal experiences, his own judgments and reflections on his spiritual condition, a statement of his devotional habits and progress. I know of no diary that can be exactly compared with it. That of Henry Martyn is edifying, but his circumstances and conditions as a missionary were on different lines from those of the Archbishop. This of Archbishop Sharp

was written in shorthand, solely for his own self-improvement and growth of grace. As such, it was most sacred and private, so confidential that one might have thought it would never have been given to the world. How then comes it that we possess any such record? First of all, after it came into the hands of his eldest son, Archdeacon of Northumberland and Canon of York, a compilation was made from it for the instruction of the members of his own family—especially of his grandchildren—that they might receive a more vivid impression of his habits and character and be encouraged to follow in his footsteps. And here let me mention that there is still living amongst us a great-granddaughter of the Archbishop and daughter of a former Recorder of York, a venerable lady, once a regular worshipper in the Minster, and a generous supporter of good works. Thus the diary might have been regarded as a private memorial and a family heirloom. So far, there was no idea of making it in any form public. However, the diary was deemed to be so unique and helpful that his representatives thought it might be a real blessing to others who might read and study it. Hence it was published in 1825, i.e. one hundred and twelve years after the Archbishop's death. So, with the earnest hope and prayer that this purpose may be practically served amongst ourselves, I make some extracts from it, with the Archbishop's own reflections on his spiritual experiences and feelings, and give some account of his devotional habits, and I will endeavour to apply them to ourselves.

It appears that at the outset of his ministerial career Sharp had begun to make memoranda relating to his public duties. As he was at a very early age appointed Archdeacon of Berks, and soon afterwards Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, one of the chief parishes in London, his duties must have been onerous and in-

cessant, so much so that he had been compelled to sit up half the night writing the three sermons that he preached every week. But a welcome change came when he was made Canon and soon afterwards Dean of Norwich: with partial relief from business he enjoyed some unaccustomed leisure. His new and dignified office brought with it new opportunities and suggested a new stage in his spiritual life. He began afresh and wrote first a weekly and then a daily journal, looking back upon the past, and writes: "I have lived several years very carefully." But this does not satisfy him. He will strive to do better and to walk more closely with God. So he makes these resolutions: with his prayers for God's grace and assistance he will strive to watch narrowly over himself, avoid all little peevishness—both at prayers and in conversation—to attend to his devotions, both public and private, with all diligence, to be careful in his words that he offend against neither truth nor charity. There is nothing extraordinary in these—nothing which every-one of us should not aim at. But it is one thing to make resolutions, another to keep them. However, from that time forward, notwithstanding the important changes in his official position, he observed them, according to his own account, "with greater strictness and better success; by constancy of prayers and watchfulness over himself he was preserved in a vigorous sense of duty and a devout frame of mind." On his appointment to the Archbishopric of York, and ten days before his consecration July fifth, he wrote as follows: "June 24, 1691. I began to apply myself more diligently to the work of religion and spent the summer well, and I thank God most heartily that since then I have never relapsed. I have above three years lived with a constant sense of religion." Similar references recur on every anniversary of this notable Midsummer Day. I will quote just one. Fourteen

years after he writes : " This day I return my solemn thanks to God for keeping me in a state of religion now these fourteen years past, and devoted myself to His service anew." This oft-repeated phrase " sense of religion " seems to set before us a deep and abiding realisation of the presence of a living, personal God showing itself in thought, word, and act, in duty to God and duty to one's fellows. It brings to mind what we are told of Enoch and of Noah, that they " walked with God," and of what the Psalmist says, " I have set the Lord always before me. He is on my right hand." My constant Companion seen by faith. Is not this fellowship the one secret of a godly life ? " Truly," says John, " our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ," the Image of the Invisible God. Treasure His blessed promise : " They shall walk with Me in white." We must begin here and now and at once.

But who is always sufficient for this worthy walking ? Let it not be thought that the Archbishop was uniformly successful in realising this " sense of religion " and not incurring fault or failure. Thus he writes of himself : " I was this morning so peevish and disordered in my mind that I could not say my prayers in my chapel, nor could I help it, being incapable of thinking. I impute it to my dispiritedness owing to bodily indisposition. But afterwards I heartily confessed my sin to God and asked pardon for it, and in the evening I said my prayers heartily." Then note this entry, indicative of a sensitive and accusing conscience : " There came to me the Dean and Mr. ——, and stayed on with me until I was almost put out of patience, and after the Dean was gone I intimated something to Mr. —— not to the Dean's advantage. If this was a fault (I think it was), God forgive me." On another occasion in reference to speaking inadvisedly : " I repented that I had said that Mr. ——

was an immoral man—that I had heard so, but did not know whether he were so or no." No similar entry to this can be found for some twenty years. But so careful was he to avoid any appearance of egotism that on one occasion he writes: "I sat prating to Mr. —— a good while, and told him a great many stories about myself, for which I was afterwards grieved, and both that night and next day I did heartily ask God's pardon for my pride and vanity."

After he had kept on his Midsummer Day Thanksgivings for twenty years he began to use a new term, describing June 24 as the day of his new birth or his spiritual birthday, meaning thereby no entrance of new light or special power, no such change of relation towards God as might be called conversion, still less what is claimed by some as sinless perfection, but a state of spiritual progress, a gradual deepening of the inner life, an advance from grace to grace. This is well explained by what he writes in 1711, June 24: "I said the prayers which I use on my birthday as devoutly as I could, begging humbly that if I live another year I may present myself improved in every grace and virtue." There were other days of specially solemn devotion observed by him, viz., his natural birthday, February sixteenth; the anniversary of his consecration, July fifth; and the first and last days of every year. It is instructive to note that five of the seven days of the week were specially appropriated by him to particular forms of devotional worship. Sundays and Thursdays were his days of thanksgiving; Wednesdays and Fridays his days of humiliation. Saturdays he prepared himself for the reception of the Holy Communion. As to Sundays he wrote: "I tried to spend the whole Lord's Day in the best manner I could to the glory of God and to the good of my own soul." As to his thanksgiving, he gave "acknowledgments to God for His great temporal mercies and

blessings vouchsafed to his country, his family, and to himself in that all who belonged to him lived in health, peace, and safety." As to his days of humiliation, he always fasted on Fridays, as notified in our Book of Common Prayer. Whilst he does not give any details as to his observance of fasting, he states that he had to modify it and discontinue some form of it on account of health.

Let me mention that whilst our Church of England, following the Holy Scripture, affirms the duty of fasting, it lays down no strict specific detailed rules but leaves the form of observance to individual members. What seems to be essential is that we should guard against formality, unreality, and against excess or defect. The religious principle underlying it is self-control, self-denial, in order that " the flesh should be subdued to the spirit." What is self-denial to one person may be nothing of the kind to another. To substitute fish for meat may involve self-gratification, not self-denial. To abstain on certain days and times from smoking, or from some favourite pastime, or from giving way to temper, or to rise half an hour earlier for special devotion and meditation, might tend to promote true spiritual growth.

Then again there is a frequent reference to tears in the Archbishop's Diary. For instance, he writes: " With hearty devotion and tears, I thanked God " ; and again, " Most earnestly and with tears, I begged the Lord." What did they betoken? They were tears of penitential sorrow. They must have sprung from the deepest recesses of a sensitive heart as it realised its sins and shortcomings and viewed them in the light of the Cross, tears which flowed from a sense of unrequited love and bitter self-reproach. I say akin to those shed by St. Peter after his denials, when " he went out, and wept bitterly " ; and after the pattern of the Perfect Man, " Who in the days of His

flesh offered up prayers and supplications with tears to Him that was able to save Him from death" ; like those of which the Psalmist speaks, when he prayed "Put my tears into Thy bottle." Some of us, for example, may have shed tears as the Saviour did at the grave of Lazarus, when we stood over the grave of one near and dear, or when we parted with the soldier or sailor son, or daughter leaving home, or maybe tears of instinctive sentimentality welled up as we watched some affecting scene in a play. I wonder how many of us here today have ever shed one true tear expressing sorrow for sin. It may save some from self-reproach to bear in mind a saying (I think) of St. Augustine: "The soul hath its tears, though the eyes may be dry."

Passing on, let me notice the frequency with which the practice of retirement and solitude is recorded. The Archbishop wrote: "I locked myself into my study," "I retired into the Chapel," "I went in my chariot alone to York, and said my prayers most devoutly both going and coming." Particularly mark this: adjacent to Bishopthorpe is the Church of Acaster, standing by itself in a field. In its porch you can read this notice: "Hither Archbishop Sharp frequently retired alone and made this porch his oratory, where he solemnly addressed and praised God." For some years his Thursday thanksgivings were offered here. Afterwards he removed to a summer-house beside a fish-pond on the north side of the garden. Later on he removed again to a closed-in grassplot walk hedged in by yew and completely sheltered. This he called his "Temple of Praise." In this privacy he says, "After evening prayer I walked in my garden, then in my Temple of Praise, and poured out my soul to God in an unusual ardent manner, so that I think I was never so rapturously devout in my life." As one reads of these wonderful devotional habits, we

feel that he was one who "walked with God," who "prayed without ceasing," and amidst the engrossing duties of a great office had his "conversation in Heaven."

Let no one think he had no cross to carry. Like the rest of us, he was "compassed with infirmities, both of the flesh and of the spirit." All his life he suffered from a recurring ague, and later on from a painful internal ailment, both of which tended to make him melancholy. Moreover, as his chief biographer tells us, he was naturally disposed to be quick-tempered and hasty of speech, though he kept himself under such self-control that they could hardly be perceived. On one occasion, when a lady was importunate for his blessing, he tells us that to satisfy her he had said: "Madam, a thousand blessings on you." But he added he blamed himself for the expression, not for the thing. We are not surprised to find that at the age of sixty-nine his health broke down, and he was obliged to give up many of his extraordinary devotions. On the Sunday before he died he was too weak to attend the prayers in his chapel, but went to the Holy Communion. The last entry in his diary (scarcely legible) is: "All well, I thank God, but I am horribly dispirited as ever a poor man was." Afterwards he ordered the daily service in his family to be said in his hearing. It was observed that he prayed continually, and frequently repeated parts of the Communion Office. A little before he died he said, "I shall be happy." His last words were those of George Herbert, which had often been on his lips in health:

> "Ah, my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
> Let me not love Thee, if I love Thee not."

Now, brothers and sisters in the Lord, I ask, how does this story concern us? Much, everyway; all of us, old and young, irrespective of class or occupation.

Every one of us has a twofold life—that of the outward man, more or less seen and known by others, and that of the inner man, the life of the spirit, fully known by God alone. This is the all-important; on it depends our eternal state—our place in one of the many mansions of the Father's House. So I say, and that with all earnestness: How fares it, my brother, my sister, with your spiritual life? Examine yourself, and that not casually. What graces characterise you? What lack I yet in quality and in measure? Hasten to supply what is wanting, to confirm what is right, to correct what is wrong. Grow in grace and in graces more and more. Sedulously practise all devotional helps and exercises. Cherish the "sense of religion." Walk with God, looking unto Jesus, till faith be lost in sight and we join the great company of the redeemed who have entered unto rest.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 5 August 1923.

XIII

KING CHARLES THE MARTYR AND HIS "BELOVED CITY OF YORK"

"Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth"—PSALM xxvi. 8.

ON this thirtieth of January, previous to the year 1859, a special form of service was appointed to be used in the Church of England, to commemorate the martyrdom of King Charles I. Some of us older folk can well remember its use. But in that year this form was removed from our Book of Common Prayer on the authority of the Sovereign and in response to addresses from the Houses of Parliament, but without the consent of the Convocations of the Church. Efforts are now being made to revive this commemoration.

It is not my purpose to deal with this part of the subject. My purpose rather is, in accordance with my duty as Chancellor of this Minster, to remind you of some of the associations of King Charles with what he terms his "beloved City of York," and of our Minster in particular, and of some incidents in his tragic life which may tend to edification.

Charles I was the second son of King James I of England and VI of Scotland. On the death of his elder brother, Henry, he became heir to the throne, to which he succeeded in 1625. His father had frequently visited this city and the Minster, and had knighted more than one Lord Mayor, and had partaken of the famous "mayne bread." Charles's connection with the city after he became King was long and intimate. His first public reception took place 24 May 1633, when

he was met on Tadcaster Bridge by the sheriffs in their scarlet gowns and one hundred mounted citizens in their train. The concourse, amidst torrents of rain, proceeded to the Minster. There, at the west door, the King knelt down on a velvet cushion and prayed. Afterwards, seated close to the font, he listened to an address in Latin, spoken by one of his chaplains. Then followed the service, and while the anthem was being sung the King was asked to dine with the Lord Mayor the following Sunday. He accepted the invitation, and then went to the Manor House (now the School for the Blind).

When the Sunday came, he walked from the Manor to the Minster, "the streets all strewed with sand and hearbs," and heard a sermon from Dr. Phineas Hodson, the Chancellor. After service, he rode in his coach to the Pavement, and dined with the Lord Mayor, whom he knighted, as well as the Recorder. He returned to the Minster to examine it, and went to the top of the Lantern Tower to get a view of the country. On the next day he took coach to Scotland.

In 1637 he gave great displeasure by ordering the Mayor and aldermen to dispense with the sword and mace when they came to the Minster, also ordering them to attend Holy Communion on certain occasions in the year.

On Saturday, 30 March 1639, he again visited York and was received in state. He attended the Minster the following day and also kept there his Maundy Thursday. In the north aisle sat thirty-nine old men, according to the number of the years of the King. The Bishop of Winchester was the almoner. On the morrow, Good Friday, after divine service, and on following days, the King is said to have touched some four hundred persons for the "King's Evil." On Easter Day he received Holy Communion in the Minster. In truth, the most attractive place in York to Charles

was the Minster. The words of the text originally used by King David were most appropriate upon the lips of Charles.

Upon one of his visits King Charles assigned £1,000 to the Dean and Chapter. Out of this sum an organ was purchased, additional plate for use in the Holy Communion, and also a Bible and Prayer Book bound in purple velvet, ornamented with silver-gilt plates and emblazoned with the royal arms. These are the very books which now customarily stand upon our Altar. He also effected certain improvements in the internal fittings of the Minster and in its external surroundings.

In 1640 troubles arose owing to the billeting of soldiers in the city and its suburbs. The King came to try to smooth matters. He examined the fortifications and called a council of Peers and of Yorkshire gentry at the Deanery. In November, after the execution of Strafford, the King entered York by torchlight, dined with Christopher North, the Lord Mayor, and knighted him on this occasion. He stayed at the old Archiepiscopal Palace within the precincts and received a petition from the citizens for the restoration of the court of the North.

The year following he paid York a long visit, received a loyal address from the gentry, ordered his printers to set up their press in what is now St. William's College, observed his Maundy in the Minster, and the day following kept the Festival of St. George in the Chapter House with the utmost magnificence, making his son, the Duke of York, a Knight of the Garter.

Meanwhile the troubles already referred to were rapidly developing, and to understand them it must be remembered that the seeds of civil and religious discord had been sown when Charles came to the throne. His father had adopted extreme notions of the royal prerogative and had interfered with the

liberties of the people and rights of Parliament. These notions had been inherited by his son. The Gunpowder Plot had led to the spread of Puritanism, and Charles's marriage with Henrietta Maria of France (a Roman Catholic) was hardly a politic act, nor was his making the Duke of Buckingham his chief favourite. Further, the first four years of his reign Charles quarrelled openly with his three Parliaments and he governed eleven years without a Parliament, with the help of Archbishop Laud and Strafford, both devoted to Church and King. But unlawful taxation, the levying of ship-money, the attempt to press the Prayer Book upon Presbyterian Scotland, and the embitterment that followed the execution of his friend Strafford hastened the crisis. Charles became convinced that the Parliament wished to deprive him of his constitutional rights. The seizure of the royal munitions at Hull and the King's attempt to arrest five M.P.s, including Pym and Hampden, precipitated the Civil War and the raising of the Royal Standard at Nottingham in August 1642. London espoused the cause of the Parliament, York became a basis for the operations of the generals of the King, and in April 1644, after the defeat of Bellasis, the Deputy Governor of the city, at Selby, the siege of York under Fairfax began. It lasted thirteen weeks, being raised by the crushing defeat of Rupert and the Royalists at Marston Moor.

We of this Minster are specially interested in some of the particulars connected with this conflict. Amongst those who fought as a private on the King's side was John Dolben, who was severely wounded. He was afterwards ordained and became Archbishop of York in 1683. His place of burial in the south aisle of our choir is marked by a fine statue, in which he is represented as recumbent and leaning on one arm. This historical monument has recently been restored by his last lineal descendant bearing his name. Amongst

those who fell in the battle and were buried in this church were Colonels Steward, William Evers, and Sir C. Slingsby, whose helmet and head were cleft by the stroke of a battle-axe. When in 1880 the new floor was laid in our Zouche Chapel, a body with skull so cleft was found there and replaced. Our Dean believes this body to be that of the famous Slingsby.

This battle of Marston Moor was followed by radical changes. After a while the rule of the northern counties was entrusted to a committee. The keys of the Minster were handed to the Mayor and the Corporation. The Archbishop (Williams) lived in compulsory retirement in Wales, and for ten years there was neither Archbishop nor Dean. The Precentor and the Chancellor were expelled. Two of the city ministers preached in the Minster. Many of its fittings and ornaments were removed.

I will not pause to follow the fortunes of King Charles. Suffice it to say that the battle of Naseby practically put an end to the Royal cause. Plot and counterplot ensued. The King fled to the Scottish army, and was finally surrendered by them to the victorious Parliamentary army under Oliver Cromwell. You know the sequel. Cromwell, believing himself to be under God's guidance, thought there could be no peace in England so long as the King lived. He turned out one hundred M.P.s, terrified the remainder, and established a sham court of justice to try the King. The court opened at Westminster Hall on 20 January 1649, and on the twenty-seventh passed on King Charles the sentence of death.

It should be edifying to recall how he spent his last days. He received his sentence on the Saturday and refused to see his friends, because, as he said, his time was precious and the best thing they could do was to pray for him. He took a tender leave of his children on the twenty-ninth, gave his blessing to the Lady

Elizabeth, telling them to love one another and forgive their father's enemies, saying he should die a glorious death for the laws and liberties of the land and to maintain the true Protestant religion. He recommended her to read Bishop Andrewes' sermons, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Archbishop Laud's book against Fisher. He told her he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them.

After this the Duke of Gloucester (aged seven) came, and the King took him on his knees and said: "Sweetheart, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee King. I charge you, do not be made King by them." At this the child sighed and said: "I will be torn in pieces first." On the morning, Tuesday, the day of his death, King Charles received the Holy Communion. He walked from St. James's to the Palace at Whitehall. He there retired to his chamber, where he continued his private devotions. Thence he passed through the banqueting-hall to the scaffold. His words there were striking. He declared: "God's judgments upon me are just. An unjust sentence I suffered to take effect is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me." He then turned to Bishop Juxon, and said: "I have forgiven all the world, and pray God forgive those who have been the chief causes of my death, and pray with St. Stephen that this be not laid to their charge. Charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp to the peace of my kingdom. You will never be right. God will never prosper you until you give God his due, the King, my successor, his due, and the people their due. I desire the liberty and freedom of the people. I tell you I am the martyr of the people. My conscience in religion is well known to all the world; I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England. I have a good cause and a gracious God. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown." He then handed to the

Bishop his Bible, with notes written in his own hand. He prayed a few words, standing with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, and then laid his head upon the block.

"Thus died," says Lord Clarendon, "the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best father, the best Christian and King of the age in which he lived." "He died," says Bishop Creighton, "to preserve to the Church of England her fellowship in the Catholic and Apostolic Church." "He died," says Mr. Rudyard Kipling, "a martyr for the English Church and its government by bishops, and a martyr for our Prayer Book. But the fact that he was a martyr did not make him a good King." "He died," says Mr. Prothero, "a martyr to his convictions, and also a victim of his own incapacity. It was a hard fate that called him to rule at a crisis which required in a Sovereign qualities which he did not possess." It is, I think, true to say that he did what he believed to be right, but was wanting in judgment, imagination, and receptivity. He spoke of things as they appeared to himself without regard to the effects which his words might have upon others. He did not know how to withdraw from an untenable position. He was unable to see two sides to a question. He was an intriguer, but not a hypocrite. Doubtless he was vacillating, obstinate, intolerant of opposition, but he was a man of courage, culture, and natural dignity, and endued with "an exemplary measure of patience, meekness, and charity." His striking penitential prayer and his meditations in the *Eikon Basilike* could only have been written by a sincere Christian, deeply conscious of his own sins and shortcomings, but humbly trusting for pardon and peace upon the merits and mercies of Jesus Christ his Saviour, and there can be no question as to his devoted attachment to the Church of England. His execution was at least a grave political blunder,

if not a crime. We can scarcely wonder that when his son was restored to the throne the form of service to which I have alluded was drawn up.

It is manifestly not adapted for present use, but there are beautiful words in some of its prayers suitable for all times. Let me in conclusion quote some of them. "Almighty Lord God, Who by Thy wisdom, not only orderest all things suitable to Thine own justice, but also performest Thy pleasure in such manner that we cannot but acknowledge Thee to be righteous in all Thy ways and holy in all Thy works; we Thy sinful people do here fall down before Thee, confessing the great and long provocation of our sins against Thee. We do, therefore, humble ourselves before Thee, beseeching Thee to deliver this Nation from blood-guiltiness and to turn from us all judgments which we by our sins have worthily deserved. Grant this for the all-sufficient merits of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ." And this: "Almighty and Everlasting God, Whose righteousness is like the strong mountains and Thy judgments like the great deep; teach us so to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom, and grant that neither the splendour of anything that is great nor conceit of anything that is good in us may withdraw our eyes from looking upon ourselves as sinful dust and ashes, but that, according to the example of Thy blessed martyrs, we may press forward to the prize of the high calling that is before us, in faith and patience, humility and meekness, mortification and self-denial, charity and constant perseverance, unto the end. And all this for Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ His Sake, to Whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen."

This sermon was preached in York Minster 30 January 1916.

XIV

DEANS AND CANONS OF YORK MINSTER

"Grow up into Him in all things, Who is the head, even Christ."
"Building up the body of Christ."—EPHESIANS iv. 12, 15.

A CEREMONY of deep solemnity and much interest took place in this Cathedral when Dean Ford was installed. It is one that may be of rare occurrence. Some now here may have been present on two or three similar occasions. But within the last hundred years seventy-six of them have passed by and only one similar ceremony has been held. And who can forecast the future? So our thoughts turn to the past, and I deem it my duty as Keeper of our records to try to outline the original constitution of our Cathedral, the list of our Deans, with special reference to a few outstanding figures, and then our spiritual ideal.

First, then, what is known as to our early constitution? Available information is scanty. We speak of York Minster. This is really an historical misnomer, though recognised by long usage. "Minster" comes from "Monasterium"—a community served by monks, and this was never our case. A similar and opposite historical mistake is made in regard to the great Church of Canterbury, once served by monks, yet never called a Minster but always a Cathedral. Here then we have examples of Cathedrals of two different kinds of foundations—old and new. As to the former, our Minster is not only the largest but the most glorious of those of the old foundation, of which there are nine in England and four in Wales. Moreover, it is a Royal foundation, being founded by King Edwin and renewed by King

Oswald. Therefore our Choir and Residentiaries, if so minded, are habited in cassocks of Royal red. In the days of our early Saxon Archbishops, the Church was served by a body of priests worshipping and working together under some common tie and maintained out of a common fund; not strictly bound together by any monastic vows, but living together, though not necessarily in one common building.

Remember that Yorkshire was originally part of the kingdom of Northumbria. It had been largely Christianised by representatives of the traditions of Iona, such as Aidan, Cuthbert, Colman, and others, long before Paulinus of Rome came. Their followers were called Culdees or Calidei, worshippers of God. It is said that the Minster was served by them at an early date, in fact a duly authorised sworn jury, in deciding a case of patronage, returned this verdict: "a certain King before the Conquest, in the times of the Englishry, gave to those who served in the Church of St. Peter of York, then called Calidei, but now Canons, a thrave [i.e. twenty-four sheaves of wheat] for each of the seven ploughs of the whole county of York."

Now as to Canons. The word "Canon," meaning "a rule," implies that the persons so named were bound together by certain rules and had to perform certain duties. This ecclesiastical title was first made in Germany, when Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz from 742 to 766, held a synod at which rules were drawn up giving a definite character to collections of secular priests associated together, but under no monastic authority. These rules met an existing want, and were soon introduced into England, probably by Archbishop Egbert, 767–82. The first Canon of York whose name is known was the famous Alcuin. The oldest copy of our statutes, dated 1292, states that he was originally called Chancellor or Schoolmaster. Under our late Anglo-Saxon Archbishops there seem

to have been seven Canons of York, the chief of whom was called Abbas or Provost, the second the schoolmaster, and the third Custos Civitatis. They lived together and were maintained out of a common fund derived from properties acquired or given by kings, nobles, or other individuals, as is testified to by the Horn of Ulphus in our own Treasury, or by Archbishops such as Walter de Gray, who gave the Manor of Bishopthorpe in fee simple to the Dean and Chapter. After a time the lands were allotted to the different Canons in accordance with the offices they held, and so became their prebends.

The next stage of development was when Aldred, the last of the Saxon Archbishops, died in 1070, and Thomas, the first of the Roman Archbishops, and chaplain to William the Conqueror, came, bringing with him new ideas. He found the Minster a blackened ruin. Only three of the Canons were left. The others were either dead or dispersed. One of his earliest acts was the appointment of a Chancellor or schoolmaster in 1085.

A few years after this, Thomas founded three other offices—that of Dean (instead of Provost), then a Precentor, and then a Treasurer. These four officials are styled in our statutes, the four persons or dignitaries. Thomas further divided the lands of St. Peter and assigned a prebend to each Canon and provided for other prebends, thirty-six in all. That was the origin of what is known as our Dean and Chapter. Many additions and alterations have been made by later authority, legislative and otherwise.

The word " Dean " is derived from the Latin word *decem*, meaning " ten." It was formerly applied to any one person who had to command ten Roman soldiers, and afterwards it was transferred to denote the head or president of a body of ecclesiastics in charge of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church or College,

and later on to the head of bodies not necessarily ecclesiastical. This title was used in Wales, at Bangor and Llandaff, in the seventh century; at Canterbury from the year 825; and at York from the year 1090, and so onwards.

As to the list of our Deans, they number altogether seventy-four. The first was one called Hugh, of whom we know nothing. Amongst his successors three have become Archbishops of Canterbury, including William Sancroft. After leaving the Deanery of York he became Dean of St. Paul's and then Primate of All England in 1677. Being a nonjuror, he refused to take the oath to William and Mary, believing in the divine right of James II, and died in retirement. He is characterised as "one of the most loyal, learned, generous, and pious prelates the Church of England has ever had."

Seven of our Deans became Archbishops of York. Amongst them was William de la Zouche, advanced to the Primacy in 1342, in the reign of Edward III, who was married to Philippa of Hainault in this Minster. Edward committed the Queen to his care when he went away to the wars in France. The Archbishop cheered her during the illness and death of her second son, William of Hatfield, buried here in our only Royal tomb. He also commanded part of the English army at the battle of Neville's Cross. He took energetic action at the time of the Black Death. He started the building of the Zouche Chapel, now our vestry, for his place of burial, though he was not interred there. The famous Thomas Cardinal Wolsey was made Archbishop of York in 1514, being already Dean, though never installed. After all arrangements for the ceremony had been made at his Palace at Cawood, he was arrested there for treason and taken to Leicester, where he died. He never entered the Minster. Thus was fulfilled the strange prophecy of Mother Shipton that

he should " see the Minster but not enter it." Five of our Deans became Bishops of Durham, including Thomas Langley, also Chancellor of England and a Roman Cardinal. He is gratefully remembered as having restored the Galilee of his Cathedral and the Norman gateway, and as the founder of important schools. Three of our Deans were promoted to the see of London. Others occupied such important bishoprics as those of Exeter, Salisbury, Worcester, Lichfield, and also Limerick. Special mention must be made of Brian Higden, who held office for twenty-three years, from 1516 to 1539. When he came to officiate here on high festivals he was attended by fifty gentlemen before him in tawny coats, guarded with black velvet, and thirty yeomen behind him guarded with saffron. Nicholas Wotton (1544) was conspicuous for having at the same time been Dean both of York and Canterbury. The arms of both these sees are emblazoned on his tomb in the last-named Cathedral. Dean Scott (1624) was imprisoned for debt and died in the precincts of the King's Bench, though his wife and family lived on here. A notable monument, surmounted by two busts, stands against the wall in the south choir aisle. It commemorates Dean Henry Finch (1702–28), and his brother William, a Canon Residentiary. He is renowned as having removed the wooden screen in front of the former shrine of St. William, said to have been destroyed by Dean Layton. He placed the altar farther eastward and turned over the stones and repaved our nave, and in doing so obliterated much historical information. He also presented the fine iron gates that lead to our choir aisles. Sir William Cockburn, Dean from 1822 to 1858, was charged with malfeasance and sentenced to deprivation by the Ecclesiastical Court under Archbishop Vernon Harcourt, but on appeal to the Civil Court he was reinstated.

As the three last Deans were more or less known to some of you, and both they and their manifold good works that follow them are so highly appreciated, and as they were amongst my personal friends, I must not venture to do more than express our great indebtedness to them. But all of you may not remember that it was Dean Duncombe who restored the nave to its use for divine service. Dean Purey-Cust did the same for the Ladye Chapel, which before his coming was little better than a storehouse. Dean Norris caused it to be adorned and the reredos to be decorated. He also carried on the work of his predecessors in the restoration of our windows and contemplated the renewal of our crypt for celebrations of Holy Communion in connection with the Church's missionary work.

Before passing on, may I be allowed, as senior residentiary, and on behalf of the Chapter, and of the Minster congregation, to tender our hearty welcome to the present Dean and his family, and assure him of our prayerful wishes that an abundant blessing may be vouchsafed to him in fulfilling the duties of his responsible office.

Then, lastly and briefly, as to our spiritual ideal. It is stated in detail by St. Paul in the passage where our texts occur. The language is figurative throughout. The Church here, as elsewhere, is treated as a body and its members, of which Christ is the Head. Its aim, as here set forth, is progress, described as "growth" and "upbuilding." With a view to this, ministry, unity, and charity are essential. These have to be applied and acted on by every member of a body, be it that of a Cathedral or other organised Church.

Note the essentials: Ministry. Give it a wide meaning. It includes all forms of service. It applies to all church workers—clerical and lay, official and otherwise; not only to bishops, priests, and deacons,

but to organists, choir men and boys, to vergers, sextons, police, and also certainly to ordinary worshippers, who should all be rendering some service to the glory of God and the welfare of the Church. Every member in his " vocation and ministry " should be a channel of Life and Power from the Head to the Body to which he belongs.

Then, Unity is essential. Not only that of our faith in the Son of God, as expressed in our Creeds, which we say with our lips and should believe in our hearts and practise in our lives, but that deeper and higher union whereby all the joints and members are here spoken of as " getting fitted together—knit and braced together," and so becoming one in Christ and united to one another.

Then there is Charity, or Love—that all-embracing grace explained by St. Paul, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter thirteen, springing out of the Love of God in Christ and manifested in kindness and consideration for others in thought, speech, act, and manner. This is a high ideal. Are we reaching forth after it ? Am I as an individual member growing up in all things into Him Which is the Head, even Christ ? Not that any of us will fully attain thereto. But we must try to look forward to the time when the Church Militant will become the Church Triumphant, " spotless and glorious," and so taken to be the Bride of Christ, when God is all in all.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 31 January 1926.

XV

ST. PETER'S SCHOOL, YORK

"He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord; Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My sheep."
JOHN xxi. 16.

THE Good Shepherd, Who had given His life for the sheep, but was now risen and about to leave His flock, has put to St. Peter the heart-searching question, "Lovest thou Me?" What can he say? He dares but in penitence and humility to answer, "Yea, Lord," assured that the Lord knew the innermost secrets of his heart. It was then that he received the solemn charge, "Feed My sheep," practically thrice repeated and reminding him of his threefold denial. Friends, this reiterated command, given under such arresting circumstances, was ever before the Apostle's mind and influenced his life. Ample proof of this is given in his recorded addresses and in his letters.

But this charge was not merely addressed to St. Peter in his individual capacity. He was a representative person foremost amongst his brother Apostles—representatives of the whole Church and all its members for all time, whether clergy or laity. And so it came to pass that whenever and wherever the Gospel was preached, care was taken not only to tend the sheep, but also to feed the lambs of the flock. The education of the young, the instructing them in the principles of the Faith and the preparing them for the work of life, has been a foremost duty of the Church throughout the Christian centuries.

From a local standpoint the subject is now prominently before us, and considering the distinctive office which it is my privilege to hold (and may I add the oldest office without exception in this Minster and one which, according to the statutes, carries with it a certain precedence), it seems to be my bounden duty to try briefly to remind you of some historical facts concerning the school attached to this Cathedral Church. It occupies, as you know, a conspicuous place in our Bidding Prayer. For some years past it has surprised me greatly to find that no little misunderstanding prevails as to which particular school is there referred to. Some think it is our Song School, and that we appropriately invite prayers for our choir boys and their devoted headmaster. Others think we allude to Archbishop Holgate's School. Whilst we certainly include in our bidding prayer these and all other seminaries of sound learning and religious education, pray note that we specifically invoke the Divine blessing upon the Grammar School or our St. Peter's School, which for some thirteen centuries has been closely associated with the Minster.

Now, when and how did it originate? Let me premise by saying that up to the sixth century the schools of the great cities of the Roman Empire were under the control of the Emperor and the municipalities.

The arrival of the great Christian missionaries, Paulinus and Augustine, led to important developments. These followers of the Good Shepherd, bearing in mind the charge given to St. Peter, would naturally see to it that due steps were taken to feed the lambs of the flock and prepare such as might be desirable for the work of the ministry. So it appears that towards the end of the seventh century and early in the eighth, grammar and song schools were established in the chief centres of Christian life and worship. There may be uncertainty as to the exact dates when the earliest

of these schools were founded. It used to be stated that our St. Peter's School was the oldest in the kingdom, but it is now apparently proved that the school at Canterbury was earlier, and the authority here and elsewhere quoted by me states that York may possibly have to yield place as regards priority of foundation to Rochester School, and even perhaps to St. Paul's, London. Be this as it may, it is certain that a Cathedral School, perhaps founded by Wilfrid, flourished here in A.D. 730.

So then our school "is older than the House of Commons, older than the Universities, older than the Lord Mayoralty, older than the House of Lords, older even than the throne or nation itself. Indeed, it is possible that the creation of the Archbishopric of York may have carried with it the creation of the school." We are indebted to the famous Northumbrian, Alcuin, for the first evidence we possess of its excellent work. He himself received in it his earliest education. The two Archbishops, Egbert and Albert, his contemporaries, were both masters of the school and taught the youth grammar, rhetoric, and song, and above all, theology and the opening of the mysteries of Holy Writ, and whatever youth the master saw of quickened intelligence "he taught, he fed, he loved."

Could you have a more perfect description of one who would well and worthily feed the lambs of the flock?

Alcuin himself ruled and taught the school for some years, and after his departure to Aix-la-Chapelle wrote many letters to show the deep interest he took in its welfare. In one of them he advised the boys "to avoid fine clothes, to tread the holy threshold of the church instead of gadding about the streets of a dirty town." We can endorse the good advice about churchgoing and happily testify to the cleanliness and attractiveness of our venerable city at the present time. In

another letter addressed to the new Archbishop, Eanbald II—a former pupil—he urges him "to prepare the scholars after the manner of the Gauls: those who read the books, those who serve chanting, and those who are assigned to writing, and for each class their own master, so that in the chief seat of our race there may be found the foundation of all goodness and learning." This recommended division of separate departments is a curious anticipation of what subsequently took place in the foundation of separate schools for grammar, song, and writing.

We know nothing for certain as to the history of the school for the next two hundred and fifty years, but coming down to the reign of William the Conqueror we find his chaplain, Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman Archbishop, remodelled the constitution of the Minster and established a Chancellor, one of whose duties it was to act as schoolmaster.

Another Archbishop, Thomas II, a nephew of the before named, who lived in the reign of Henry I, was educated at the school, and when Roger was Archbishop in the reign of Henry II the school received its first separate endowment and grant from the Northern Primate to the Dean and Chapter. In the reign of Edward I, when Archbishop Romanus laid the foundation-stone of the present nave, the site of the school house, then probably on the south side of the old Norman nave, was required and used, and a new school house was provided. In our earliest Statute Book, made in 1307, there is an important entry which distinguishes between the grammar and song school and states that the Chancellor of the ancient city called the schoolmaster "appointed to all the grammar schools in the jurisdiction of the Chapter, that he ought to appoint to the school at York a M.A., from whom proficiency would be expected, and that he should hold the office according to custom for three years and no

more, except by special favour." There is an interesting stained glass window in our nave in which its donor, Chancellor Robert de Ripplingham, who died in 1332, is depicted teaching the schoolboys. It is the third window from the south transept in the south aisle, and the picture is to be found in the lowest panel of the right-hand light. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, after the Black Death, when two-thirds of the clergy of the diocese were swept off, it became difficult to secure masters, and so the conditions of the tenure of the mastership were changed by the Dean and Chapter, " according to a letter written by the Chancellor, and signed ' as he tells us,' with the impression of his seal with red wax hanging thereto."

It is worth notice, as testifying to the probable number of scholars, that Robert of Beckingham left by will dated 1369, 2*d.* each to certain poor boys of the grammar school " not being bad boys, to be named by the master, to say the whole Psalter after his burial." The total numbers of scholars then must have been many more than now, probably running into three figures.

In 1426, when the Chancellorship was vacant, the Dean and Chapter departed from the former custom, and instead of appointing a deputy master of the school appointed Gilbert Pinchbeck as master nominally for the ancient term of three years only, and prohibited anyone from keeping school in York or other place within ten miles without special licence from them or the Chancellor. This master held office for thirty years. He and the two next masters were laymen or in minor orders. His epitaph is stated by Drake to be in the Minster, but I have been unable to locate it.

There is abundant evidence to show that the school was still going on in the next century and was continued in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. In the latter reign, about 1552, Archbishop Holgate's School

was founded, a totally separate institution. Three years later, in the reign of Mary, viz. in 1555, a Synod at Westminster Abbey, acting under the authority of Cardinal Pole, decreed that in every cathedral a certain number of boys, according to the revenues of the Church, should be taught free in a kind of seminary, and provision was made to secure the necessary funds. It appears that long before this, whilst our St. Peter's was still carried on, a boarding house for fifty poor scholars attending school had been maintained (in a house called the Clee) by the Great Abbey of St. Mary's. When this was dissolved at the Reformation, a difficulty naturally arose, but our Dean and Chapter, realising the situation and their opportunity, availed themselves of the Pole decree, and provided for the purposes of their school and accommodating the fifty boys an old hospital founded by a former Dean and known as Bootham or Horsefair Hospital, situated in an open space of ground outside Bootham Bar. Accordingly, in 1557, licence was given by the Crown to the Dean and Chapter to convert this hospital and its possessions into a school, " with a master and under-master, in or near the city of York in such a place as they may think fit." The scholars were in no way limited, and were to be taught gratis. The school was to be called the School of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter of York, and " to depend totally on the same church as a member on its head." Its first known master under this new arrangement was appointed in 1575.

So the school started upon a new lease of life. Its interests were safeguarded under the Commonwealth, which, whilst it abolished deans and chapters, provided that all revenues payable to any grammar school should continue to be paid. From what has just been stated you can perceive how, by a misunderstanding of the real historical facts, our school came to be called in some official documents the Royal Grammar School,

and once—as I am informed—was so designated in our bidding prayer. I have not been able to ascertain exactly when this misleading description was introduced and when dropped. The truth is that St. Peter's School existed and flourished long before the days of Queen Mary, and indeed may have been held in the days of Kings Edwin or Oswy or Egfrid.

From the year 1287 it met in the York Mansion of the Prebend of Dunnington. It was removed to Horsefair about the last half of the sixteenth century. In 1726 it was transferred to the disused church of St. Andrew's in Spen Lane. This building, still standing, is now used on undenominational lines by the United Christian Mission. The school remained at St. Andrew's for a century, and was removed in 1833 to new buildings in the Minster Yard, now our Choir School on the site of the old Deanery. In 1844 it was removed to its present site and to buildings which had been erected for a proprietary school in 1837. It is now no longer under the absolute control of our Dean and Chapter but is managed by a representative governing body in accordance with a scheme under the Endowed Schools Act. Its motto is "Super antiquas vias." It stands upon the ancient ways. It goes forward upon old paths and, whilst it adapts itself to modern requirements, it treasures and upholds its distinguished traditions. As our Archbishop has said, "the witness which the Church is meant to give in the general life of the people, St. Peter's School is meant to give in life education."

"This school will prove to be stable just in proportion to its courage to stand by its great traditions. St. Peter's, with its pride of ancestry, is never ashamed of the link that binds it to the Church of Christ. A school so deeply rooted, so certain of its position, can never be ashamed of the atmosphere and traditions which it has inherited from our fathers." May we not

thankfully claim that throughout the thirteen centuries of its past history it has been true to the solemn charge given to that Apostle whose name it bears ; that it has sought to feed the lambs of the flock ; that it has tried to lead them into green pastures and beside still waters ; to place them in the arms of the Good Shepherd so that He might carry them in His bosom ? As to the future, it does not become me to express any opinion regarding the proposal now under discussion, in which I, like most members of this congregation, have no voice or vote, but we can one and all at least pray that under the guidance of the Holy Spirit the decision arrived at may tend to the welfare of the school, to the glory of God, and to the advancement of the Church of God, and of the flock, which the Good Shepherd purchased with His own precious blood.

This sermon was preached in York Minster 27 June 1920.

XVI

YORK MINSTER FIRES

"And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush; and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed."

EXODUS iii. 2.

WELL might Moses turn aside and meditate! Why did the bush keep burning, and yet not be consumed? Because God was there. The fire betokened His presence, and He spake out of the midst of it. It was a prelude to the pillar of fire by night, and a cloud of dazzling light by day, that assured Moses and the people that their God was present with them, as they journeyed towards the Land of Promise. The burning bush, too, symbolised God's people labouring in the midst of the fiery furnace of Egyptian bondage, and yet unconsumed. In spite of bitter persecution, they were wonderfully preserved. The secret of the continued existence was the unseen presence of Jehovah. Hence they were secure and indestructible. Yes, and what was true then is true today. God is in the midst of His people and of His Church. No wonder then that the burning bush was taken as the emblem of the Church of Scotland. It has withstood the fires of persecution. It claims to be safeguarded by the eternal presence of the God Who revealed Himself in the fire. And is this not true of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, in all the world?

Further, may we not venture to apply the symbol and its reality to this great house of God, in which we are privileged to worship? It is like the burning

bush. Many a time throughout the centuries of its existence it has been on fire, but it has never been consumed. Why? Because it enshrined the Divine presence. Suffer me now, in trying to fulfil the duty which devolves upon me by virtue of the special office to which I have been called here, to give some brief historical account of our Minster fires. It is suggested by this Candlemas Day. Let me remind you, to begin with, that on this sacred spot there probably stood originally a heathen temple. This was destroyed and burnt when Edwin, King of Northumbria, under the influence of his wife Ethelburga, and through the preaching of Paulinus, embraced the Christian faith. Whilst he was being instructed as a catechumen, a simple wooden structure was hastily built. The walls were trunks of trees split in two, and the roof was thatched. In this building—then dedicated to St. Peter—the King and his two sons, St. Hilda and other courtiers, were baptised on Easter Day, 627. At the instance of Paulinus, the King at once began to build a large square stone church in which this primitive chapel was included, but he was slain at Hatfield before its completion, and his successor, Oswald, finished the work. Thirty years later, when Wilfrid became bishop, this church had fallen into disrepair. So the roofs were repaired and leaded, the windows glazed, and the walls whitewashed. Edwin's wooden oratory was doubtless destroyed after his death, during the occupation of York by his enemies.

Roger de Hovenden relates that a great fire took place at a monasterium in York in 741. There is a difference of opinion as to whether or not our Minster is here referred to, and as to the extent of its destruction, and also whether the splendid Saxon church described by the famous Alcuin was built here on its ruins by Archbishop Albert and consecrated by his successor, Eanbald, ten days before his death, and

dedicated to Sancta Sophia. At all events, there are now to be seen in our crypt foundations that may be referred to this date; and one may say that what might have then been here or hard by was "a lofty house, with carved arches, solid pillars, noble ceilings, many porticoes, resplendent with their numerous chambers under different roofs, and thirty altars, with many ornaments." There were then there in use "altars clothed with pure silver and precious stones, and all the sacred vessels and the crucifixes were of silver or gold. Above one of these altars was a large candelabrum, over which was raised the banner of the Cross." This was about 780.

In the next century York Minster probably suffered from the violence of the Danes, but it seems to have been in fairly good condition about the time of the Norman Conquest. But on 19 September 1069, eight days after the death of Archbishop Aldred, when the Norman garrison of York, assisted by the united forces of the English, Scots, and Danes, had set fire to one of the castles which the Conqueror had erected, the flames so spread that a great part of the city was laid waste. The Cathedral was ruined, and the celebrated library founded by Alcuin was burnt.

Soon after, Thomas of Bayeux, the King's chaplain, was made Archbishop. He was a man of energy, and finding the church gutted but the walls standing, he rebuilt it on a larger scale, in the best Norman style. He put on new roofs, obtained new service books and adornments, and remodelled the constitution, appointing a Dean, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, and a Precentor. Parts of the original foundations of this church may still be seen, testifying to the splendour of its dimensions. But within a century this Minster was more or less destroyed.

In the reign of King Stephen, on 24 June 1137, when Thurstan was Archbishop, a casual fire broke out,

which partly burnt the Cathedral, St. Mary's Abbey, and thirty-nine other churches, and almost all the houses in the city. It appears, however, that the destruction was not so complete that the divine offices could not be continued. When the first Parliament met in York in 1160, the customary services were duly held ; and in 1171, when Archbishop Roger began to build the choir with its crypt, William I of Scotland did homage here to King Henry II, and deposited his breastplate, spear, and saddle upon the Altar.

Then in 1189, at the time of the terrible persecution of the Jews in York, a remarkable fire took place here. Some of the citizens who had borrowed money from the Jews rushed to the Cathedral, where the bonds showing their indebtedness were deposited, broke open the chests, made a bonfire of the documents, and burnt them in the presbytery. Further, between the death of Archbishop Roger and the appointment of Walter de Gray in 1216 (according to the York Breviary), a flame from the torch of a careless watchman set fire to the city, and spread to the Minster, so that a great beam fell on the tomb of St. William, cut in two its cover, and reduced part of it to ashes, but did not burn the vestments in which the body of the saint had been enveloped.

Subsequently to this, within the next two hundred years, many additions and alterations were made to the building under the Archbishops Walter de Gray, John Romanus, William Melton, William de la Zouche, and John Thoresby, until the whole fabric, as we now see it, was finished in about 1472. Throughout this period no special fire is recorded, but in 1753, in the time of Dean Fountayne, owing to the carelessness of workmen, a chafing-dish—used for fixing lead upon the roof—took fire and ignited the dry wood, which blazed up with rapidity at eight o'clock in the evening and caused much consternation, and, in spite of the

use of a number of fire-engines and the efforts of the inhabitants, was not put out until it had destroyed a considerable part of the little aisle in the south transept.

We now come down to events of comparatively recent occurrence—with which some present may be more or less familiar. In the year 1829, ninety years ago, on this Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or Candlemas Day, our splendid choir was destroyed by fire kindled by the insane fanatic, Jonathan Martin. He stated that he was moved to commit this act of incendiarism owing to two dreams which he took to be a revelation of the will of God. Accordingly he attended Evensong on the previous afternoon, and was much angered at hearing the prayers and amens sung. The prayers of the heart came from the heart; there was no call for prayer books. The organ made such a buzzing noise that he said: "Thou shalt buzz no more; I will burn thee down tonight." Then he left the choir with the congregation when it went out, and secreted himself behind Archbishop Greenfield's tomb in the north transept, and waited until the bellringers left. Finding the belfry door unlocked, he went to the bell chamber, struck a light, cut off eighty feet of the prayer-bell rope, secured some pincers, made a scaling ladder, and so got access to the choir. He then took for his own use a small Bible. He cut off some of the velvet and gold fringes from the hangings of the pulpit "to make himself a robe." He piled up two heaps of prayer and music books and cushions, placed them against the woodwork near the Archbishop's throne, put lighted wax candles under one heap and a bundle of lighted matches under the other. He knelt down and thanked God for His help so far, and cried aloud, "Glory be to God." He then returned to the north transept, and by the help of the movable scaffold, scaling ladder, and

pincers, escaped by one of the lights near the Five Sisters Window. Then the clock struck three. Early on the Monday morning, a chorister named Swinbank, passing through Minster Yard, slipping on the ice, fell on his back, and so saw smoke issuing from the roof of the Minster. Giving the alarm to the custodian, the door was at once opened. The building was found to be filled with dense smoke and a fire was seen to be burning in the woodwork of the choir. Workmen and helpers assembled and all the fire-engines in the city arrived. Some books, cushions, and the altar table were rescued, and with much difficulty the brass lectern was got away. The organ then caught fire, and the action of the air in the pipes upon the flames caused an awe-inspiring noise, which echoed through the building. By nine o'clock the whole choir was ablaze, and the roof began to fall with a deafening noise. The molten lead poured down in torrents. By eleven o'clock the whole roof had come down. The flames began to be stifled by the fall of the heavy materials and by the water from the fire-engines. By two o'clock the fire had largely subsided.

As a result of this great conflagration the roofs of the choir and Ladye Chapel were entirely destroyed, also the organ, the stalls, with their beautiful tabernacle work, the pulpit, and the throne, the screen between the choir and the Ladye Chapel, and the altar plate. Many of the tombs and monuments were either destroyed or much injured, and in particular those in memory of Archbishops Bowet, Scrope, Rotherham, and Dolben. The effigy of the Crusader Robert de Maulay was probably then mutilated, and afterwards removed. Martin was apprehended, tried at the Leeds Assizes, and though defended, amongst other counsel, by Brougham, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was found to be insane, and acquitted. He ended his days in Bethlem Hospital. It may be interesting to

record that in one of the first lessons for the Sunday following the fire, the words occur: "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burnt up with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste" (Isaiah lxiv. 11). The scene of ruin was visited by a boy on his way to school, who afterwards became Dean Duncombe. The wax candles used by the incendiary were ready at hand, as the Minster was then lit by some two hundred and forty of them. The knife he used may be seen in our Treasury, and two of the original miserere seats.

Measures with a view to the restoration of the church were at once taken, and £65,000 was raised by public subscription. The work was entrusted to Mr. Smirke (architect) and completed in three years. Meanwhile, the services were carried on in St. Michael le Belfry. The choir was reopened 16 May 1832, when Dean Cockburn preached from the text: "One of the disciples said unto Him, Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here!" (Mark xiii. 1).

In 1840, eleven years after this catastrophe to the choir, a similar misfortune befell the nave and the south-west tower. On 20 May a clockmaker of Leeds, who had been working in the chamber beneath the bells, fixed his candle in a hole in a flat piece of wood, and left it alight when he finished his work. It burned down to the socket and set fire to the wood. At 9.15 a small flame was seen through the belfry windows. In half an hour afterwards the belfry was filled with flames. The fire-engines were soon in attendance. For some time water could not be obtained, and when available the conflagration was beyond reach of the engines. The flames spread rapidly and reached the wooden framework for hanging the bells, then dry and saturated with oil and tallow. The flames soon found vent through the roof and attacked the walls and roofs of the nave. Portion after portion fell in and

cast forth showers of sparks and flakes of burning timber. At midnight the flames reached the great central tower, and there were happily stayed. The scene is described as one of awful magnificence. Although the sun had set amidst bright, golden clouds, the night was particularly dark. Within a short time the sky was again illuminated by a terrific red glare. As the flames enveloped the south tower and shot up into the air, the whole city and the country around were lit up and the fire was seen as far as Harrogate. Crowds flocked to the spot and were kept back by a force of mounted Dragoons and Hussars, mostly on foot. The horrors of the scene were heightened by the falling timbers and by the crashing down of the bells, ten in number. The sounds are said to have resounded through the aisles like peals of thunder. The volumes of smoke were almost suffocating. In the course of the fire a remarkable change of wind took place—veering to the south, the clouds of embers, which had been carried some distance, came back in a circuit. Another striking effect is recorded. When the whole nave was ablaze, the bright light shining through the stained glass brought out into clear relief the tracery of some of the figures. The cross in the great west window stood out conspicuously, and as the flames increased seemed in imminent peril of falling. But it remained intact, and the watching crowd was so impressed by the apparent indestructibility of this symbol of our Redemption that it burst into cheering, and was soothed.

The adjacent houses in Petergate were at one time in serious danger, and some of their occupants began to move. Amongst them was a family living in the house wrongly said to have been occupied by Guy Fawkes. One of its members, who afterwards became Bishop of Bristol, states : " I and my brother were taken out of bed, wrapped in blankets, carried down

Stonegate, and narrowly escaped being run over by a troop of galloping horses. The scene next morning was one of sad desolation. Mounted soldiers were on guard at all points of the ruin—in some places the Minster was inches deep in water. In front of the west end were lava-like streams of molten lead." The necessary restoration, again entrusted to Mr. Smirke, cost about £24,500, mostly raised by subscriptions. The nave was reopened in July 1844.

It should be noted that so far as is known the Minster has only once been slightly struck by lightning, but never by cannon-ball during the siege of the city, nor by any bomb or missile in air-raids. And so our cathedral, in spite of all the changes wrought by these successive fires, stands unconsumed, like the burning bush. It proclaims that God is in our midst, Jehovah, the Self-existent, Eternal, the Everlasting, the All-Holy, revealed to us in Jesus Christ our Lord, the Light of the World, Whose eyes are as flame of fire—the same yesterday, today, and for ever, and abiding with us by the Holy Spirit, the Illuminator, Who baptiseth us with fire. It testifies to the continuity of our national Church, from Anglo-Saxon days, throughout thirteen centuries down to the present time. It witnesses to the piety and munificence of generation after generation in building, rebuilding, renewing, restoring, and adorning.

And what else? Does it not suggest to us that much remains to be done? Look at our bare Ladye Chapel and this choir of ours, bereft of its glorious and ornamental mediæval screen. Look at the mean and faded hangings of our pulpit and throne, and at some of the sacred vessels for Holy Communion. Alas! some are borrowed. Look at our unique crypt, altarless, unfurnished, and disused. Look at our St. Nicholas Chapel, awaiting completion and suitable fittings. And what about an efficient, up-to-date system of

heating? And yet, this is York Minster, the Metropolitan Church of the Northern Province, of the wealthy county of York, and its capital city of York. May not this be a God-given opportunity for our undertaking some of these necessary and desirable works for His glory, and as memorials of our brothers and sisters who have laid down their lives for us in the War, and to testify to future generations our thankful sense of the great things He has done for us in giving us victory and peace? What else is wanted? Another fire? Yes, a fire in our hearts; the fire of burning love and holy zeal. This the Saviour came to bring. Would that it were already kindled! Would that the Psalmist's words applied to Him might apply to us: "The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up, hath consumed me." Be it so. Amen.

This sermon was preached in York Minster Candlemas Day, 2 February 1919.

XVII

THE YORK JEWS

"Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee."—MATTHEW xxi. 5.

ZION was the Jebusite stronghold captured by King David. Around it Jerusalem was afterwards built. Hence the inhabitants were called the children of Zion. When in captivity prophets and psalmists were commissioned to promise them that a King should one day come bringing salvation. That King, the Messiah, the Saviour, was the Jewish hope.

In the fullness of time Jesus Christ came, claiming to be the promised King. At His triumphal entry into Zion the people acclaimed Him King. They shouted, "Hosannah! Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord." Yet afterwards they rejected Him; they crucified Him; they cried, "His blood be on us, and on our children." The fulfilment of this terrible imprecation soon began. The destruction of Jerusalem, the overthrow of the Theocracy, and centuries of exile and dispersion witness to the reality of the consequences thus heedlessly invoked. Let me remind you of some of these consequences as illustrated in the story of the Jews of mediæval York, and as suggesting an oft-neglected branch of mission work and duty which Advent emphasises.

We cannot say for certain when the Daughters of Zion first set foot in Britain. Some may have landed with the Phœnicians or in the navy of Solomon that traded with Tarshish. But the official Jewish Calendar states that Cæsar Augustus issued an edict in favour

of Jews in England in the seventeenth year of his reign. And it is fairly certain that there were Jewish as well as Christian soldiers in the Roman army of occupation. But the first mention of Jews in our annals appears in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Therein he tells us that the native priests once in seven years concurred with the Jews in celebrating Easter. This accounts for the edict published by our Archbishop Egbert in 740, which forbade Christians being present at any of the Jewish feasts—a clear proof at the time of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy that Jews were celebrating their feasts according to their law, and further living peaceably with their Christian neighbours. This is also evidenced by the fact that ninety years afterwards the King of the Mercians granted a charter to Croyland Abbey, confirming it in the possession of all lands bestowed by faithful Christians or by Jews. Canute, our Danish King (reckoned amongst the creators of England's greatness), in his zeal for religion and the Church, gained his people's favour by banishing the Jews from England. Yet under the laws of Edward the Confessor they and their money are stated to be under " the King's protection." But William the Conqueror invited them to settle here. In response, many came, people enterprising, quick-witted, skilled in business, mostly possessing money. Naturally they took up their abode in the leading cities such as London, York, Norwich, and Lincoln. As aliens, speaking another language, devoted to another religion, and having peculiar customs, they dwelt together, apart, by themselves. William Rufus was so impressed with their consistent life that he summoned in London a convention of Christian bishops and Jewish rabbis to discuss the evidences of their respective creeds, and sware that he would embrace Judaism if the Jews got the better in the dispute. Each side claimed the victory. Their influence over

him was so great that he appointed Jews to take care of vacant benefices and farm them for his own benefit. Thus their wealth accumulated, and with it their security vanished.

Shortly afterwards their troubles began and lasted for a century and a half. The circumstances of the times concurred to cause and aggravate them. The Crusades excited hostility against them as unbelievers. Their own peculiar religious observances were misunderstood and misrepresented. Charges were brought against them of requiring Christian blood for their Passover celebration and for anointing their dead. Many of them were skilful physicians and effected cures where the ecclesiastical practitioners (mostly monks) failed. Hence they were regarded as rivals and often charged with using sorcery. The preaching of the friars inflamed the people against them as representatives of those who had crucified the Lord. Their money was wanted in all directions: by the kings, whose armies had to be levied and supplied, and their transports to be prepared; then the barons and knights wanted ready money to enable them and their retainers to take their part in wars both at home and abroad; further, the cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches were then being built and embellished, the castles and the manor-houses in the country were being constructed. Whence came the funds? Could money be found or borrowed, and from what quarter and upon what terms? There was then no moneyed class amongst the English people. But the Jews were always amassing wealth. They were called "the King's men," supposed to be under his protection. They and their belongings were at his disposal. They could not be married without his consent. They were taxed and fined enormous sums. Extortion and evasions of the law multiplied.

Now all this is forcibly illustrated by our local

records, for York was one of the chief centres of Jewish settlement in the Kingdom. It had its Jewry, i.e. its Jewish quarter, in our Jubbergate. Its burial-ground for Jews, by favour of King Henry II, was outside the city at Jewbury, adjacent to the site of our County Hospital. The facts that this site was afterwards enlarged by the purchase of land from our Sub-Dean, and that the conveyance was signed by the Dean and others, testify to the friendly relations then, at least, existing between them and the ecclesiastical and other authorities. Amongst their leading men were Benedict, Moses, and Aaron (of whom more presently). Their houses are described as princely, built of stone and not unlike fortresses to resist attack. Their thatched roofs exposed them to the risk of fire. Aaron's mansion was in Coney Street, near where St. Martin's Church now stands, where the George Inn once stood, the site now occupied by Messrs. Leak & Thorp's premises. It had its secret underground vault, probably in the gardens behind, where the owner's valuables were stored. Benedict's great house was in Spen Lane. In Coney Street was also situated the up-to-date Jewish High School, where chemistry, mathematics, philosophy, and medicine were taught by cultured rabbis.

The Jews of York were then mostly bankers, money-lenders, goldsmiths, or merchants. They are described as being dressed in costly and conspicuous garments that excited no little envy. King Henry II had taken a quarter of their chattels. But when his son, Richard I, succeeded, grave events occurred here. The new King's one idea was to rid the Holy Land of the Infidel, and the Jews could hardly be regarded as amongst the faithful. But whether it was to protect them from injury or from less friendly motives, he issued a proclamation forbidding them to enter Westminster Abbey at his Coronation. It seems that this

order did not reach York till after two of the principal Jews, namely, Benedict and Joses, with a retinue, had left the city with valuable gifts to conciliate the King. But being recognised on their arrival at the Palace, they were set upon by the mob and beaten. Some were killed on the spot. Benedict was so severely injured that he died before he returned home. When Joses got back he found that Benedict's house had been pillaged and burnt and his family murdered. When in London he had been forcibly baptised, but renounced his conversion on his return. Whereupon he took refuge in the Castle, with all his belongings. He was there joined by other Jews and their families to the number of from five hundred to a thousand or more. Thinking the Castellan (who had gone out) was going to betray them, they refused to readmit him. He then appealed to the Sheriff, who brought soldiers to force an entrance. The rabble joined in the tumult, urged on by a monk clad in his surplice. When it was evident that the besieged could hold out no longer, the aged rabbi present counselled them to kill one another. Most of them acted upon this counsel after burning their treasures. The rabbi then killed Joses and afterwards fell by his own hand. Next day the few survivors were slain by the populace and their bodies thrown into the castle well. Some of the mob hastened to the Minster, and having got possession of the chests in which the Jews' records of loans and deeds were stored, burnt them before the high altar. Accounts vary as to the number of those who perished. Including women and children, there were from a thousand to fifteen hundred.

A different version of this story was recently given here by a rabbi from America, who claimed to have derived it from authentic Continental sources. He stated that the King had invited the Jews to a banquet in the Castle. When the feast was over, he and his

courtiers withdrew. Soon afterwards the room in which the guests were assembled proved to be a skilfully made torture-chamber. Its walls began to come together, its roof to descend; knives and daggers gleamed through the chinks. Through one of them was seen the King's face inviting them to become Christians. The horrified Jews all declined the proposal. Seeing their destruction was planned and resolved upon, they all died by their own hands. On the face of it, this story is inconsistent with known historical facts; and in answer to my inquiries, learned members of the Jewish Historical Society of England courteously inform me that this is a pure fabrication. Similar, though lesser, outrages occurred in other towns. Some of the leaders who took part in the York massacre were punished by forfeiture of land and goods.

The King issued a proclamation forbidding any molestation of his Jewish subjects. Special laws were enacted in regard to them and their property. A department of the Royal Treasury was organised called the Court of Exchequer of the Jews. Arks, or chests, were to be provided in all centres such as York. All contracts between Jews and Christians were to be registered and in the custody of local officials—two Christian and two Jewish. By this arrangement the King was able at any time to ascertain how much the Jews had lent and the persons to whom they had lent and the rate of interest charged. A little later they were required to wear on the breast a badge of yellow taffeta.

But in spite of all enactments and persecutions they never ceased to accumulate wealth. This is witnessed to by interesting particulars of Jews of York that have come down to us. Thus we read of Aaron, son of the Joses who fell in the massacres: In 1237 he was the official head of the Jewish community, called the Archpresbyter or Bishop, a title indicating a secular, not any religious, office. He was the Rothschild of the

day, and is said to be the original of Isaac in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, the father of Rebecca. He had paid the King a fine of £100 to become possessed of his father's property. He was one of the three from whom Henry II extorted thirty-two ounces of gold and £3,600 in silver. He was once charged to raise 20,000 marks from his own people. There is a document in the British Museum relating to a loan to the Priory of Durham, sealed by him in wax, showing part of a classical head, as if from a Roman gem. Another document shows that he was the mortgagee of the lands of Thomas of Northallerton, who undertook to pay forty-four per cent. if he failed to pay what was due on the appointed day. Nine Cistercian abbeys built within a few years owed him money. His brother Samuel also lent money to Fountains.

Then there was Isaac, the son of Moses, who owned a windmill and two acres of land on The Mount, still so called, which (together with other properties) were forfeited to the Crown when he was killed by the fall of his house. There was also one Joses, who, with others, had lent £840 to Fossard, the Lord of Mulgrave. Another Joses, a so-called Jewish bishop, had a house in Coney Street and an estate at Colton. Many other documents are extant relating to Jews and their properties here in York. Limitations of time and place preclude me from giving further particulars. But there is an entry relating to Aaron of Lincoln which throws light on what the York historian Gent and others call by tradition the Jewish Window in the Minster. This Aaron boasted that he had made a window for the Abbey of St. Albans and a home for the saint there. In like manner, it seems probable that the money of some Jew or Jews helped to put up our glorious Five Sisters Window. If so, that testifies to historical facts as well as to the blessed truths of our Redemption by Jesus Christ.

Throughout the long reign of Henry III the number of the Jews in England and in York in particular rapidly increased, and with it their property. Fresh taxes were imposed on them and imprisonment in default of payment. Charges multiplied against them. They were accused of clipping the coin, evading taxation, and of extortion. The clergy became more jealous of them, especially as converts to Judaism were being made. Archbishop Langton issued an edict forbidding them to keep Christian servants, to build more synagogues or enter any church, and forbidding the faithful to buy or sell to them. At length Henry III died, and his son Edward succeeded. Was there any hope of a change of policy? The new King's mother was Eleanor of Provence and his wife Eleanor of Castile, both of them hostile to the Jews. So special enactments were made. All Jewish chests were to be searched; all Jews over two years old to pay tax to the King at Easter; all to pay no rent to any but to the King, except for their own residence; all unskilled in trade to work on farms for a term not exceeding ten years; to live only in such towns in which chests were kept; and all failing to pay up their taxes to be expelled.

At last in 1290 an order was issued that all Jews should leave the kingdom by All Saints' Day, but without molestation. Various motives have been suggested to explain this drastic step. Some assert it was due to religious fanaticism, others owing to the oppression of usurers, eighty per cent. being sometimes charged; others think it was a self-denying ordinance in the interests of religion and political economy, helped by the increasing number of Christian Lombards and bankers in England ready to lend on favourable terms. Doubtless mixed reasons led to their expulsion, political, economic, social, religious, and personal, on the part of the King, his mother, and his wife. By

Royal order, the chests were to be sent to Westminster Abbey. This was carried out and some remain there. Let me add that efforts are now being made to obtain the York chest, if found, for deposit in the Minster Treasury, as a local relic of historical interest. In compliance with these orders, some sixteen or seventeen thousand Jews left England. It should be noted that before a century had passed they were also expelled from France, Spain, and Portugal. Cases are recorded of individual Jews living in York and elsewhere after this expulsion. A list is extant of all lands and houses held by Jews here. They were to be disposed of for the King's profit. In this connection a remarkable incident is recorded. Bonamicus, a York Jew, had lent to the Prior of Bridlington £300 to be repaid in August 1292. On the previous year Archbishop Romanus, when in Paris, had placed in his hands by Bonamicus the security for the repayment of the loan. The Archbishop ordered the money to be repaid to him on an appointed day. The matter was brought before the King, who caused it to be tried by jury. Their verdict was that the Archbishop had intended to conceal the transaction and to keep the money for himself and defraud the King. The Archbishop was adjudged to remain at the mercy of the King : we know no more.

After three hundred and sixty years, in 1650, Oliver Cromwell practically repealed the edict of Edward I, and permitted Jews to settle in England. Many struggles occurred in succeeding years. Now, I need hardly remind you, all so-called Jewish disabilities have been removed. This remarkable people enjoy equal civil rights with the rest of the King's subjects. They are found in the roll of our peers, and baronets, and judges, and members of Parliament. A distinguished Jew is the Governor-General of India and another is our High Commissioner in Palestine. Our

subject is fascinating and has many important bearings.

It is well for us to bear in mind that, spread throughout the world amongst Mohammedans and members of all creeds and no creeds, as a body the Jews have testified to two of the cardinal foundation truths taught by the Catholic Church: the Unity of God and the need of Atonement. Throughout the world, I understand, in all sections of the Orthodox Jewish community, a Day of Atonement is still annually observed.

But now let me ask you, in view of some of the bare facts of our local and national history, have not we, as Christians, a religious duty towards this remarkable people? It is one thing to give them by law civil rights equal to our own. It is another to speak of them and treat them in a Christian spirit. It is yet another thing to try to bring them to own Jesus Christ as King. I know well that some of them are characterised by habits and qualities that repel. But may we not say the same of some professing Christians? There are many Jews whose diligence, benevolence, probity, exemplary domestic life, and devoted attachment to their ancestral faith it would be well for us to emulate. But are we not, as believers in Jesus Christ and as members of His Church, bound to obey our Lord's command to preach the Gospel to every creature—"to the Jew first" and also to the Gentile? What of our prophetic text? Has it no bearing on our personal duty and our Advent call? Are we trying to win the Jew by our words, our prayers, our aims, our acts? Our Church as a body bears its witness. On Mount Zion stands a Christian place of worship where a goodly congregation of unmistakable Hebrew Christians regularly worship. In the Holy City our own Cathedral of St. George, served by an English Bishop and a staff of clergy, bears active witness to the Christian faith. In the principal cities on the Continent and elsewhere there are well organised

Jewish missions, wonderfully successful considering their many difficulties. Many of us at home are ignorant, sceptical, or prejudiced about them. Bishop Bury, of Northern Europe, knows the truth and tells a remarkable tale. At Bucharest I have seen at one school one thousand Jewish children under suitable Christian instruction, to say nothing about adults in the Bible classes.

Friends, we have much to learn in our presentation of the Christian truth to the Jew. We have to understand the attitude of the intelligent Jew, and he has to understand ours. Remarkable movements of thought and opinion are current amongst highly educated Jews such as Dr. C. Montefiore. There is a candid avowal that Judaism does not sufficiently appreciate the passion of Redemption and self-sacrifice that characterise the New Testament. There is a call to a deeper realisation of the fundamental truths that unite us together with a sympathetic understanding of the truths that separate us. This influential writer openly says to his co-religionists : " Let us make our religion as rich as we can. Jesus can help us ; Paul can help us." Surely this is hopeful. The present Bishop of Stepney at a recent meeting said he had a vision of a Hebrew Christian synagogue retaining as much as possible some of the old Jewish peculiarities, and giving a message that would satisfy the Jews' deepest longings without destroying the God-given aspirations of this great race. Moreover, a Messianic Fellowship has now been formed to assist Christians to know Judaism sympathetically and assist Jews to know Christians sympathetically, and so bridge the gulf between the Church and the Synagogue. A new spirit of inquiry and of readiness to consider the Christian position is now rapidly developing.

Bear with me whilst I relate a story recently told by the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. When in New York,

he visited Rabbi Wise, who is well known throughout the United States and even the world. Whilst waiting in his drawing-room one day, he observed that all the pictures were taken from Gospel scenes. On expressing surprise, the Rabbi said, " We regard Jesus Christ as not yours only, but ours. He was the greatest Jew that ever lived ; we venerate Him." The Bishop said, " I can understand that ; but what beats me is these pictures of the Crucifixion : what do they mean to you ? " The Rabbi looked grave and replied, " That was the most tragic blunder we ever made. We have suffered for it ever since. We regard Jesus Christ not so much as God come down to man, but a man who lived so near to God that He drew others with Him into the Holy Presence." He ended by asking the Bishop to preach in his synagogue on Sunday morning when two thousand people would be present, and he might say exactly what he thought and liked. Circumstances then prevented the Bishop from accepting the invitation, but he said he hoped some day to come and avail himself of it. Friends, who can predict the issue of movements such as these ? May they not, in the Providence of God, hasten the long-looked-for Advent when the sons and daughters of Zion will unite with us and say, " Behold, Jesus Christ is our King " ; and then may we not expect that Jesus Christ Himself will come again with power and great glory, reigning as King and owned as Lord of all ?

This sermon was preached in York Minster 30 November 1924.

XVIII

ST. WILLIAM OF YORK

"He was a burning and a shining light."—JOHN v., part of ver. 35.

IN days gone by the first Sunday after the Epiphany was one of special observance in York Minster. Worshippers came from far and near to take part in the solemnities, for this was one of the festivals of their patron saint, William of York.

William was King Stephen's nephew, and his mother was the King's sister Emma. His father was Lord Herbert. He was said to have been a Yorkshireman, and he was Treasurer and Chamberlain to Henry I. Little is known about William's early life. He had many natural gifts, being kind, amiable, liberal, and courteous. He was well educated. The high position in which he was born and reared exposed him to special temptation. His uncle, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, was a worldly-minded prelate. As Papal Legate he wielded great influence, and he was bent on his nephew's advancement. These were hardly favourable conditions for the development of a high Christian character.

About the year 1130 William was Treasurer of the Minster. He was bountiful in his gifts, dispensing not only the alms of the Church but his own private means with a free hand. Hence he became popular with the people. About this period of his career he accompanied the Archbishop on his visitation of St. Mary's Abbey at York and was one of the signatories to the charter of Fountains. He also succeeded to the Yorkshire estates left by his eldest brother.

In 1140 Archbishop Thurstan died. Then began painful disputes as to his successor. At the instance of the Bishop of Winchester another nephew of the King, Henry de Sully, was next chosen, but holding another position as Abbot of Fécamp, his election was disallowed. When the Chapter next met to choose an Archbishop, the majority of the members fixed on William, the Treasurer. But it was alleged that he had furthered his own election by bribery, and that Lord Albemarle had been present and, in the name of the King, had pressed for his election. At all events Lord Albemarle arrested and imprisoned the Archdeacon of York and other officials who were on their way to protest against the election. The dispute was carried to Rome. Then the great St. Bernard, the head of the Cistercian Order, brought his immense influence to bear against William's election. For some time the Pontiff wavered, but at last he decided that William might be consecrated Archbishop, if he could clear himself on oath of the charge of bribery. This was done by deputy.

So in September 1143 Bishop Henry consecrated his nephew as Archbishop in his own Cathedral at Winchester. William then took possession of his see. He ruled in peace and set himself to make peace between former foes. His wonderful kindness, gentleness, and generosity made him popular ; but he was a man of sluggish temperament and delayed obtaining the pallium which a cardinal had brought with him from Rome. He busied himself with drawing up injunctions for protecting from profane uses trees and grass in churchyards, and preventing clergy from applying to their own purposes money received for dilapidations.

Meanwhile, a new Pope, a violent Cistercian, had come into office. Complaints against William were renewed and backed up with all the authority of St.

Bernard and Murdac, Abbot of Fountains. William was accordingly compelled to go to Rome. To pay his expenses, he sold the treasures and privileges of his see. His Yorkshire friends took up his cause, and plundered and burnt Fountains Abbey. All this added fuel to the flames, and at length—in 1147—William was deposed, mainly because he had not personally cleared himself on oath of bribery. A new election to the Archbishopric was set about, and finally Murdac, Abbot of Fountains, was chosen and consecrated.

After his deposition William took refuge with a kinsman, King Roger of Sicily, but afterwards he betook himself to his uncle, the Bishop of Winchester. There he showed much resignation. His habits of life were altered. He escaped, when he could, from his uncle's palace, and occupied himself with prayer, meditation, and study. He retired from the world. He sought the society of the monks at Winchester. He became a changed man. He led a life of penitence, humility, and self-denial. He remained at Winchester seven years, until the death in 1153 of his opponents, St. Bernard and the Pope, who had deposed him.

Then he hastened to Rome and begged for mercy. At this juncture Archbishop Murdac died, and the new Pope, pitying William's grey hairs and his misfortunes, acceded to his prayers and restored him to his Archbishopric.

William then returned to England, kept Easter at Winchester, and came north to resume the possession of his see. Before he entered the city he was met by the Dean and the Archdeacon of York, who tried to prevent him from entering, and threatened to appeal against his appointment. However, he went on undismayed, and reached the city May ninth, accompanied by a vast crowd. As the party was crossing the Ouse the wooden bridge gave way and a number of persons fell into the water, but no one was drowned. William

was believed to have worked a miracle on their behalf by his prayers and tears. A chapel, dedicated to him, was afterwards built hard by, to signalise what had happened. William lived in York as Archbishop for only thirty days. With great humility he visited Fountains. He promised to make amends for the injuries done by his partisans. He did other friendly acts, showing he forgave his former enemies. He came back to York, and on Trinity Sunday, whilst officiating in the Minster, was seized with illness. Poison (administered in the chalice) was suspected. Antidotes were administered, but he died June eighth, eight days after his seizure, and he was buried in an ordinary grave adjacent to the north-west pillar of the lantern tower, near where the nave pulpit now stands. Before long his misfortunes brought devotees to his tomb. He began to be reputed a martyr and a worker of miracles.

The Canons and the people of York, envying their brethren at Ripon and Beverley their local saints, St. Wilfrid and St. John, were anxious for a saint of their own. A movement was started for William's canonisation. Holy oil was said to exude from his tomb. A petition was presented to the Pope, and in 1227 William was admitted to the Calendar of Saints.

On 8 January 1287, William's remains were removed in solemn state to a shrine behind the high altar. On no other occasion has York Minster witnessed within its walls a more illustrious assemblage. A double ceremony took place, the consecration of Anthony Bek, as Bishop of Durham, as well as the translation of St. William's remains. There were present King Edward I, with Queen Eleanor, eleven bishops, the chief estates of England ecclesiastical and civil, barons, clergy, and others from all parts. Wykewaine, the Archbishop of York, preached the sermon. In commemoration of this notable event it was ordered that the festival of William's translation should be kept on

the first Sunday after Epiphany. Special services were appointed for daily use throughout the octave. The collect referred to the fact that the body buried in the depths of the earth had been found worthy to be exalted, and concluded thus: "Grant that we, celebrating his translation, may be translated from this valley of misery to Thy heavenly Kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Among the hymns sung was one which has been translated by a poet friend of mine. It was as follows:

"Lift your voices, lift your living
Hearts, ye people in thanksgiving,
To the Lord Who hears man's plea;
For His mercy true and tender,
We, with holy William, render
Worship's aid of minstrelsy.

"Statelier that palm tree groweth
Which its stem and foliage oweth
To the sunbeams' quickening stress;
Thou, too, William, didst inherit
Wondrous virtues, wondrous merit,
From the Sun of Righteousness.

"When deposed from throne of ruler
By false traitors, all the fuller
Praise thou gavedst to thy God;
Doomed for seven long years to wander
From thy see, 'twas thine to ponder
The true meaning of that rod.

"Thence returning, thou didst proffer
Heart-felt praise; anew didst offer
Thanks to Him Who thee restored;
Pleading forty days completed,
Forty days of respite meted,
Ere thou wentest to thy Lord.

"Thou hast gained that peace diviner
When the flame of the Refiner
Past, the gold comes out assayed;
Where with all the host supernal,
Shine in brilliance eternal
Souls of men redeemed, remade.

"Eyes to the blind thou wast, and hearing
To deaf ears, a helper bearing
Strength to palsied folk and lame;
Lepers lost their ghastly pallor,
Sick gained health, and weaklings valour,
Toucht by thee, Saint William.

"Ay! and more the flint rock stony
Became bread (this testimony
Stands avoucht on sacred page).
Praise to Jesus Christ Who giveth
Pardon of all sin, and liveth
King of Saints, from age to age!"

The shrine of St. William disappeared from the Minster at the time of the Reformation and his name was also removed from the Calendar. The magnificent stained glass window in the north-east transept illustrates the reputed life and miracles of the saint. It was placed in position about 1420.

It may be stated here that for many years past, on the Tuesday in Whitsun Week, a large number of pilgrims (members of the Roman Communion) visit the reputed tomb of St. William in York Minster. They often number from five hundred to a thousand persons, and are sometimes accompanied by one of their bishops and say their prayers and offer praises and thanksgivings.

It seems fitting that from time to time we should be reminded of those who have played a conspicuous part in the history of our National Church. As Yorkshiremen and as inhabitants of this historic city, privileged to worship in this noble Minster, surely we would do well to ponder over the life of one of our greatest archbishops, who was also the patron of the city.

As we meditate on the story, which is mostly quoted from recognised authorities, what are some of the thoughts which come to our minds? We should be thankful that our lot has been cast in different days from those we have been considering. How dark is

the picture of the state of the Church then, with its turbulence, its strife, its revenge, conflicts, and antagonisms between followers with honoured names of the Lord of Peace and the Lord of Love! Those cannot be the "good old times" we are wont to refer to. We have our differences of opinion to compose, abuses to correct, and wrongs to be righted, and I hope we deal with these in the spirit of our Master. True religion can never flourish in the midst of faction and strife. We thank God for the spiritual progress the Church has made since those days, especially in those things which pertain to truth, peace, and love.

Lastly, the story of St. William strikingly illustrates how the natural man may be changed and purified, and how the spiritual man may be formed and developed. We need that development and that change. We have seen how William was naturally kind, amiable, generous and courteous, and yet was content to be carried along by the current towards the pomps and vanities of the world; but in the Providence of God the conditions were changed. Then came trials, failures, difficulties, humiliations, and a long withdrawal from the world, and William chose the narrow way. He pursued the path of penitence, and he was led by the Spirit of God to know himself, which was the very first thing we have to know and learn and about the last thing we succeed in doing. He tarried at the foot of the Cross of Christ. He learned obedience by the things that he suffered. He became a new creature. The dross was purged away and the pure gold was revealed. He was repentant, meek, gentle, and humble. Like his Master he fully and freely forgave his many enemies. He became "a burning and a shining light," and is numbered among the saints. So let us lay to heart this lesson. We are called to be saints, and we can be saints. The best as well as the worst of us has his besetting sins that may be con-

quered and latent graces that may be developed; but we must be disciplined, and be our discipline in life what it may—prosperity or adversity, health or sickness, sorrow or joy—let us be led by the Spirit of God. Let us be taught in the school of Christ; let us learn at the Cross of Christ; then there is no one who may not be "a burning and a shining light" and be numbered amongst the saints. Our names may not appear in any earthly record, but they may at the great day be found written in the Lamb's Book of Life.

This sermon was preached in York Minster on the morning of the First Sunday after the Epiphany, 7 January 1912.

XIX

ST. LAURENCE AND THE CHURCH'S TREASURES

"But this I say, He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. . . . And God is able to make all grace abound unto you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound in every good work. . . . Now he that ministereth seed to the sower both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness."—2 CORINTHIANS ix. 6, 8, 10.

THE words occur in the special Epistle formerly read on August tenth, the day on which, according to our Prayer Book, we are called upon to commemorate St. Laurence, whose name was retained at the Reformation amongst the black-letter saints. It is found in the earliest known Church Calendars, and was inserted for good reasons. The story of his life, office, and work is most instructive, illustrates great principles and important duties, and has a direct bearing on some present problems.

In these commemorations of saints it is often difficult to separate the authentic from the legendary. There is always a tendency to add to and exaggerate what had taken place. But the main facts in the case of St. Laurence are clear. His story takes us back to the third century of the Christian era. The great persecution of Christians under the Emperor Decius had ended; Valerian had succeeded him. At first he had been well disposed towards Christianity. Eusebius, the historian, tells us his "house was full of pious men and like a church of God," but this attitude

was not of long continuance. He had as his Prime Minister one Macarius, who obtained remarkable influence over him and led him to believe that an outbreak of plague among the people was the result of the anger of the old pagan gods at the neglect of public worship in their temples. Accordingly, he became a bitter opponent of the Christian faith. A policy of repression was determined on. An Imperial edict was issued ordering all Roman people to offer sacrifices to the national deities under pain of forfeiture of their goods. As this proved ineffectual, more stringent measures were adopted. The prefects were charged to terrorise the Christians into obedience and seize the chief ministers of the Church—bishops, priests, and deacons—and confiscate their goods. One of the first martyrs was Sixtus, Bishop of Rome. Closely associated with him was his personal friend, Laurence, a young Spaniard of noble birth, a pious, learned, zealous, diligent student of the Holy Scriptures, with special aptitude for teaching and of businesslike habits. He had migrated to Rome and had become a Roman citizen. Sixtus had ordained him and appointed him Archdeacon—first of the seven deacons in Rome, and therefore set over all the other deacons. His office included not only teaching and assisting in services but the care of the goods and properties of the Church and the administration of the alms of the faithful.

When Bishop Sixtus was being led to execution, Laurence desired to go and die with him, saying he had accompanied him to the altar and he would go with him to the cross and death. The Bishop directed him to stay behind, and predicted he should soon follow him. Meanwhile he charged him to carry on his work and distribute the goods and treasures of the Church amongst the poor. The Prefect, hearing of this charge, summoned him to his presence, and called upon him to account for and give up these goods and

treasures. Laurence asked for time to gather them together. After two or three days he appeared before the Prefect with a crowd of poor and sick—old, young, and children. "These," said he, "are the Church's treasures, not gold and silver and jewels." The Prefect was enraged at what he deemed to be a piece of mockery. He ordered Laurence to be tortured and made to reveal where the coveted goods were hidden. Laurence had nothing more to tell, and so was given into the charge of Hippolytus, a patrician, to be executed. Such was the result of the prayers and patience and exhortations of the prisoner that his custodian was converted to Christianity.

Laurence was then led outside the city, placed on an iron frame like a gridiron, under which hot coals were placed and fire kindled. But he seemed to be insensible to pain. As the text puts it, "God made all grace to abound with him, and gave him all sufficiency of grace" to suffer and die like his Master. His courage, fortitude, cheerfulness, and even his humour never forsook him. In the midst of his fiery trial he is reported to have said, "Assatus est. I am roasted on this side. Turn me round." Death soon ensued. The story of his martyrdom became widely known and took deep hold of the popular mind. It led to the very opposite effect to what was intended. The sympathies of the people were aroused towards these cheerful, suffering Christians. We are told that from that time worship of the false gods cooled. The death of Laurence was the death-knell of the heathen temples. There must be some truth and power in the religion of Jesus Christ: the death of the martyrs was the seed of the Church.

Within half a century Constantine the Great was proclaimed Roman Emperor at York (where he is said to have been born), embraced Christianity, and established it as the religion of the Roman Empire. One

of his first public acts after his conversion was to found a great Christian basilica on the very spot outside Rome where St. Laurence had been burnt. This was enlarged by his successors and is to this day a standing witness and memorial to this glorious martyr. Further, August tenth, the date of his martyrdom, coincided with the time of the harvest home in the Roman Campagna, already a leading popular festival. Hence the authorities of the early Church chose the familiar passage from the letter to the Corinthians already quoted, about sowing and reaping and fruits, as specially appropriate as the Epistle for St. Laurence's Day. We can thus understand how this festival became specially observed. Churches in honour of the saint began to be built in all directions, eight altogether in Rome itself. Some of the chief towns in Europe were placed under his supposed patronage—Genoa and Nuremberg. Later on his story was told in painted glass windows. He is depicted in some seven or eight of the Minster windows, including the beautiful large figure of him on the east side of the north transept. After the famous victory of the Spaniards over the French at St. Quentin, 10 August 1557, Philip II of Spain founded the wonderful church, palace, mausoleum, and monastery of the Escurial that cost thirteen millions. In front of it stood a statue of St. Laurence in silver, holding in his hand a golden grid, and one of its bars may be still seen. About two hundred and eighty churches dedicated to St. Laurence are to be found in England, including one outside our city walls founded in Saxon times, which, after many changes and partial destruction at the siege of York, has given place to the spacious new edifice consecrated by Archbishop Thomson in 1883.

Friends, this story is suggestive from many points of view. Note that it cost something to be a Christian in those early days. It was not then a matter

of easy-going profession or just being present occasionally at a place of worship. The alternative was often : confess Christianity and die, or abjure Christianity and live. But however the case may be in England, as it stands, the days of persecution and martyrdom have not ceased. Witness the records of missionary enterprise in recent times. Bear in mind the martyrdoms in Madagascar and China about the time of the Boxer outbreaks. In some parts of that great country missionaries are now preaching the Gospel with their lives in their hands. Witness the stories of heroes of the Church whose names are as household words, such as Patteson and Hannington. What of the deaths of successive Bishops of Sierra Leone, once called the White Man's Grave ? I doubt whether all of us really grasp what has been happening in Russia to ecclesiastics, archbishops and others, and for all we know is still happening under Bolshevist anti-Christian rule.

As one reads the newspaper accounts of what horrors have taken place and almost akin to those to which St. Laurence was subjected, one shrinks from facing the question : Could my faith stand the test of such an ordeal ? We can only hope and pray that if such bitter trials should come to any of us, we might in faith fall back upon the assurance of the text, " God is able to make all grace abound toward you ; that ye may always have all sufficiency." Our immunity from risk is not all clear gain. Religion is proved to be real when, like a ship's anchor and chain cable, it is well tested, and this may come in many ways and in many places—in the school, in the counting-house, in the parlour, on the sick-bed, as well as in the lap of luxury or on a battlefield. Let us cling to the promise : " As thy day so shall thy strength be."

I pass on to another thought suggested by this story. The office which Laurence held was that of

Archdeacon of Rome. In those early days it had a somewhat different meaning from that now attached to it. It now commonly denotes an ecclesiastical officer who gives general help to the bishop in matters of administration in a certain part of a diocese. He is sometimes spoken of as " the bishop's eye." But in the early Church he was, as the title implies, the Chief of the Deacons. The archdeacons were originally chosen, as told in the Acts of the Apostles, to look after the interests of the poor brethren and assist in reading and expounding the Scriptures. Whilst the work of these officials has changed with the changing centuries, the essential duties originally attached to the office remain and still devolve upon the Church as a body and upon individual Christians. Due care for the welfare of the poor, both spiritually and temporally, has ever been a distinctive mark of the Church and must ever remain so, if she is true to her Master's teaching. He laid stress on this in the Sermon on the Mount, and the duty was necessarily taken up by His followers. St. Paul frequently wrote and spoke about it. He expressly deals with one form of it in that part of the Epistle to the Corinthians from which the text is taken.

Our Poor Law system, which sprang up in England after the Reformation, has changed the conditions, and recent legislation in reference to old-age pensions and insurance and unemployment doles have greatly modified it. But the Church and its members are not relieved of responsibility. Speaking generally, we, as a people, are ready to minister to the poor and the sick, and we have a special duty " to the household of faith." The actual administration is most difficult. A knowledge of the true facts is necessary, and often hidden and hard to obtain. It is easy to pauperise and in ignorance encourage mendicancy and culpable idleness, and make begging a fine art. As it stands,

the poorest amongst us are mostly the people of strictly small and limited means, which cannot be increased by any honest labour, such, shall I say, as some of our clergy and hard-pressed elderly ladies and gentlemen. We rejoice to know that our ecclesiastical authorities together with our better-to-do lay folk are now coming forward to try to relieve at least the strain upon the clergy, but much more needs to be done. However, here I take the opportunity of referring to the method whereby the alms for the poor collected at our Holy Communions in the Minster are (in accordance with the rubrics) regularly distributed. Most of you will have noticed that our local newspaper, the *Herald*, gives a weekly record of the amounts received at the offertory and of the portion allocated to the poor. As the Minster is extra-parochial, recipients are eligible from every one of the parishes in the city. A list of poor and aged persons, men and women, whose names have been mostly supplied by the parochial clergy, is kept and carefully sifted by the Dean and Chapter Clerk. Of them eighteen deserving folk receive a weekly dole of 2*s*. A preference is given to any person who may have been specially associated with the Minster. I may add that we now have a long waiting list of suitable applicants.

There is just a final thought suggested by the office and work of St. Laurence that must be alluded to. We are told that he dispensed not only the daily bread for the body, but the food to support the soul, and diligently taught the Word of God. The children of the Church had their full share of his instructions and ministry. So when ordered to produce the Church's treasures he naturally included a number of the Church's children.

Here comes back to one's memory the story of Cornelia, the mother of the famous Gracchi. When asked out of curiosity by a noble Roman lady to be

allowed to see her jewels, supposed to be of priceless value and rarity, she brought her two sons, upon whose education she had lavished her thought and care. Later on, such was the success of her efforts that the people of Rome erected a statue to her honour, bearing the simple inscription, " To the Mother of the Gracchi."

Friends, the children are indeed our treasures and jewels. Would that the nation might so regard them and act accordingly. The mothers (though not apart from the fathers) have a golden and privileged opportunity. The outlines of the Christian faith should be taught in spirit and in truth to the children of all classes. A really effective national system of religious education would, I believe, tend to solve many of our industrial troubles. Would that professing Christians of all shades of opinion in these days would show the same zeal for the spread of the faith in Jesus Christ as those Romans in the days of Valerian and St. Laurence did to stamp it out. Then peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, might flourish and abound among us for all generations.

This sermon was preached in York Minster on St. Laurence's Day, 10 August 1924.

There is a fine figure of St. Laurence in the north transept of the Minster—executed by Mr. Kempe, the famous glass artist, in 1893.

XX

YORK MINSTER BELLS:

Part I

Their History and Traditions

"There is neither speech nor language; but without these their voice is heard."—Psalm xix. 3. (A.V. margin.)

What are those voices and what do they say? We may answer in the well-known words of Addison:

> "What though in solemn silence all
> Move round this dark terrestrial ball?
> What though no real voice nor sound
> Amidst these radiant orbs be found?
> In reason's ear they all rejoice
> And utter forth a glorious voice,
> For ever singing as they shine,
> 'The hand that made us is Divine.'"

And St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, used a similar figure when he wrote, "There are so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification." Moreover, he emphasises their practical application. He suggests: Listen to the voices, whether they be those of musical instruments, such as pipe or harp, or whether they be those of persons endued with that mysterious gift of tongues. All of them have their particular meaning. Not only hear but heed. All these voices should help to edification. Let me point out how this is illustrated in this Minster and by some of its chief accessories.

In the north-east corner of our sanctuary stands the figure of King Edwin, our founder. It was put there

by Dean Purey-Cust, who placed under it these striking words: "This statue commemorates also James Fleming, Canon of York 1908. Separated from each other on earth by many generations, but one in the service of Jesus Christ, for Whom they lived and died and with Whom they now rest together in the Paradise of God." Some present will remember that amongst Canon Fleming's gifts was that of a singularly musical and flexible voice. You may have heard him often recite Poe's poem, "The Bells," adapting his voice to constant modulations of time and tune as the author described their various uses. You will remember how he used to fill our largest public hall, and once thus raised £150 for our County Hospital.

This leads me to invite your attention to the story of our Minster bells. I know it has been already told, and that by one whose generosity we all appreciate, but it appertains to my office to try to supplement what has been said and record some details which have not yet been notified. And there are special reasons why we, in this place, should be reminded of their story. We possess a unique work of art in our Bell Founder's Window, but I wonder how many of our worshippers could give a stranger a tolerable account of the processes it depicts and its benediction by the Archbishop. Excuse my adding, it is second from the east in the north aisle of the nave. It was given by Richard Tunnoc, who lived in Stonegate, and was M.P. for the city in 1327, and died in 1330, and founded a service for the repose of his soul. Further let me add that Eastern countries, such as China and India, anticipated us Westerns in casting big bells and using them for calling their people together for worship. Amongst the Hebrews, the blowing of rams' horns and of the silver trumpets served the same purpose. There are two references to bells in the Old Testament. One in Exodus, where we have a description of the

high-priest's dress when he entered the Holy of Holies. It was expressly enjoined by God that the hem of his robe should be embroidered round about with a fringe of golden bells and pomegranates. The purpose of this is explained, viz. that his movements when he was ministering before the Lord (though unseen by the people) should be followed by them in devout and sustained thought and meditation. Would that such close attention characterised all our worship! And, looking deeper, we can enter into the further practical symbolism of the hem. It has been well put by the poet Cowper:

> "With golden bells the priestly vest
> And rich pomegranates 'broidered round,
> The need of Holiness exprest
> And called for fruit as well as sound."

Remember, too, that seeds of pomegranates were recognised as emblems of immortality, thus bringing before us that our worship should have an eternal value. Never give to God less than the purest fine gold. Is it so and that always? Bells were not otherwise used in Hebrew worship. They were not introduced into Europe till Roman times, and then it was to summon people to the public baths.

We cannot say for certain when bells were first used in Christian worship. In the early days of persecution such worship was held in secret or in private houses; but after the conversion of Constantine, open and audible calls were started. Some ascribe the use of bells for this purpose to Paulinus, a Bishop of Nola, about 400; others to Sabinian, successor to Gregory the Great in the sixth century. About these dates small bells certainly began to be used in religious houses to summon the inmates to prayer. One such bell is that ascribed to St. Patrick, given to the church at Armagh, by St. Columba of Iona. Then there are two interesting statements made by Vener-

able Bede about 680. He informs us that Benedict Biscop brought a bell from Italy to place in his abbey at Wearmouth. A similar larger bell must have been that which, he says, was tolled at Whitby on the death of St. Hilda. Then Egbert, Archbishop of York from 735 to 766, ordered all priests to ring the bells at the appointed hours. Further, we have full particulars of seven famous bells of Croyland in the tenth century. The chronicler states that they were called by distinctive names as if they represented different persons. This practice has been developed and continued to the present time. In Saxon days many large towers were built. Their size and construction show they were intended to hold rings of bells.

Now, as to our Minster, we may be certain that there was a bell or bells here in Anglo-Saxon times. We know that our Archbishop Kensius, who had been Chaplain to Edward the Confessor, gave bells to Beverley, Southwell, and Stow. Whence we may conclude that had there been no bell in his own Cathedral he would have supplied the defect. As early as the reign of King Alfred, a curfew had been sounded in some places, but in the time of William the Conqueror its ringing was made compulsory, under penalty for non-compliance. We may note that a curfew is still rung in York.

The first specific reference to Minster bells is found in the reign of Richard I in 1189, when a dispute arose between Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Dean. The bells were originally in the old Norman Tower, but in 1270 John Romanus built a large bell tower. Parts of the eastern piers are still in existence, though covered with new masonry. In 1290 Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I, died at Grantham. As soon as our Chapter heard of her decease they ordered a full peal of the Minster bells to be tolled. For this the sacrist received 5*s*. from

the King. In 1360 the executors of John Wynwick, late Treasurer, were called before the Chapter to make reparation for the great bell which had fallen down and broken. In 1367, on the Feast of St. Matthew, an indenture was made with John, a plumber, to repair the covering of the belfry. In this belfry two bells were placed, one the prayer bell and the other the clock bell. There is reason to believe this clock bell existed in the days of Archbishop Thoresby, who died 1374. In 1370 one John of Stafford was employed to make several new bells. Amongst them, the Great bell, which had fallen down about 1359; one for the clock, one for the Masons' lodge, one called John and one named "Chaunseler" (*sic*). Our fabric Rolls give a long list of articles used in casting them, together with the costs. Doubtless these bells were made upon the spot. In 1430 a new bell tower projected in 1421 was begun at the south-west angle of the nave. This was completed in 1471, and the bells were removed from the old bell tower and placed therein. In 1473 the first of the four bells (afterwards called the Lady Bell) was hung in the new tower, and the clock, which had its bell taken from it in 1472, had a new one given to it. Chimes were also attached to the bells in the south-west tower. The Vicars-Choral composed a tune for them, and received 1*s.* 3*d.* in wine as a present. These chimes remained there until 1752. In 1492 the last prayer bell was placed in the belfry and bore this date and the following lines:

"Surge cito propera cunctos citat
Excitat hora cur dormis
Vigila me resonante leva."

"Rise quickly, haste, 'tis time to stir for all.
Why sleepest thou? Awake when I do call."

This bell in the time of Dean Finch (1702–28) was removed to the top of the lantern, and from there in

1803 to the south-west bell tower, where it was destroyed with the other bells in the 1840 fire. In 1528 two wooden images clothed in armour were made by Richard the Carver for 13*s.* 4*d.* and placed over the south entrance. They struck the quarter chimes with hammers upon bells, and so were called Quarter Jacks. They were removed probably 1752 and are now doing their duty outside the entrance of the north choir aisle. In 1655 the four minor bells in the north-west tower (called also St. Mary's or Our Lady Tower) were taken down and hung with the larger bells in the south-west tower. To complete the set, a collection was made throughout the city, and in 1657 the eleventh, or the largest bell but one, and also the fourth, were broken and new cast. In order to obtain additional metal, the largest of the three bells belonging to the demolished church of St. Nicholas by Walmgate was given. To defray costs and make the bells tuneable, Thomas Dickinson, the Lord Mayor, and the Commonalty gave £130 from the city funds.

Thus the first peal of twelve bells in England came into being. The big tenor was first tolled at the death of Archbishop Tobias Matthew. They hung in the south-west tower in two lofts, and at set hours various tunes were played. Gent, our local historian, writing in 1730, gives us particulars as to their mottoes and weights. I quote their inscriptions and in the mother-tongue, because they record the voices the bells were desired to utter. These voices, long since silent, are never out of date, but being mostly words of inspiration, live and abide as true now as heretofore, and may I add certainly needing to be repeated and heeded in this our day of grace. In the highest loft there was inscribed on the bells as numbered :

1. Sacred to God and King.
2. Make joyful noise to God.
3. Rejoice in God. Psalm 81. 1681.

4. Glory to God in the Highest.
5. Whilst I call Mary rings through the world.
6. I will sound and resound to Thy people, O Lord,
   With my sweet voice to call them to Thy word. 1599.
7. Blessed are the people who acknowledge the sound. 1657.

Below these in another loft were the following mottoes:

8. We praise Thee, O God; John Lake, Residentiary; Robert Hitch, Dean; Robert Scoresby, Precentor; Christopher Stone, Chancellor, 1671.
9. Peter, Peter, I sing to thee in hope while the choir resoundeth.
10. I sweetly telling, men do call
    To taste on food that feeds the soul. 1627.
11. Funera deploro populum voco.
    Festa decoro.
12. The largest bell (diameter 5 feet 9½ inches).
    Exultemus Domino. 1627.
    Phineas Hodson, Cancellarius.
    Wickham, Archdnus. Ebor.

In 1705 this peal was taken down by Dean Fountayne and replaced by a set of ten new bells cast by Messrs. Lester & Pack, whose names were on the first four bells. On the fifth was "Music is medicine to the mind": on the sixth, "Our voices shall with joyful sound make hills and valleys echo round"; on the seventh, "All ye who join with heart and hands, your hearts unite. So shall our tuneful tongues combine to laud the nuptial rite"; on the eighth, "Ye ringers all that prize your health and happiness, be sober, merry, wise, and you'll the same possess"; on the ninth, "To honour both God and King our voices shall in concert ring"; on the tenth:

"J. Fountayne, Dean.
Wm. Cowper
W. Berdmore
W. Cayley
W. Mason (the Poet)" } Residentiaries.

These bells were destroyed in the 1840 fire.

But the story of the Beckwith bells and Big Peter remains to be told. There are, however, two incidents connected with these bells that should be handed down. First, soon after Dean Duncombe was appointed he heard them ringing a merry peal. Inquiring the reason, he was told it was " on account of the Races." He then asked, " What do you get for ringing them ? " The answer was " Two guineas." He then said, " I will give you the same sum not to ring them, and remember you can never ring them without my permission." Second, later on, Provost Brown, Rector of St. Wilfrid's, ill and dying, was much disturbed by the frequent sounding of our bells. This came to the knowledge of Bishop Blunt, who mentioned it to Dean Purey-Cust, and he at once ordered the bells to be stopped till the Provost had passed away. This friendly act was reported to Cardinal Manning, who communicated it to Pope Leo XIII. His Holiness so much appreciated the act that he testified to it by presenting to the Dean and Chapter a splendid photogravure copy of the *Codex Vaticanus* in a special case of cypress wood. This is now in our library and a copy of the letter that accompanied the gift is amongst our archives.

I append a list of a few of the more noteworthy historical or local occasions on which the bells were rung, apart from the customary Royal happenings.

1628, March 29. Death of Archbishop Tobias Matthew.
1641. Joy at Triennial Parliaments.
1685, Feb. 17. When James II granted Charter to York.
1689, Feb. 17. When King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed.
1729. Birthday of Prince Frederick (first time since death of Queen Anne).
1746, April 16. Birthday of Duke of Cumberland, victor of Culloden.
1757. Appointment of John Gilbert, Archbishop of York; rung backward, reverse order.
1760. In honour of Admiral Hawke and King of Prussia's victory over Austrians.

1760. Surrender of Montreal, and end of Seven Years' War.
1815, June 18. Battle of Waterloo.
1834. Muffled peal. Funeral of Nixon, fifty years a ringer.
1863. Opening of Lendal Bridge.
1881. Opening of Skeldergate Bridge.
1881. Death of Earl of Beaconsfield.
1900. Relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking.
1904, June 4. Golden Wedding, Dean Purey-Cust. Hand bells only, bell tower being under restoration.
1907, Aug. 6. Great Bell tolled for funeral of W. H. Howard, foreman bell-ringer for sixty-eight years.
1911, May 12. Conferment of Freedom of City on Dean Purey-Cust and Joseph Rowntree.
1912, June 8. Memorial Service of Lord Wenlock.
1912, Aug. 6. Memorial Service for two bell-ringers, Messrs. Cundall and Cradock.
1916, June 15. Unveiling of Cradock Memorial.
1917. Victory of Vimy Ridge.
1918, Nov. 11. Armistice, Great War.
1918, Nov. 11. Peace Proclaimed.
1919. Peace Celebrations.

I take the opportunity of putting on record a copy of some lines composed by Dean Purey-Cust and used at a service held on 25 March 1914, when the bells had been partly restored :

" Ring out, ye brazen tuneful peal. Wake every heart
To realise that God hath promised grace
To all who gather in this holy place,
Comfort to troubled hearts and strength to weak,
And help to all that here His guidance seek.
Ever, ever kindle prayer and praise
Alike in darkest or in brighter days.

" Tell out to all that in this chequered life for rich and poor
God here provides an ever-open home,
Where all the faithful may together come
For sacrament and prayer and Holy Word,
And be of pardon and of strength assured.
Ever, ever kindle prayer and praise
Alike in darkest or in brighter days.

" Tell out to listening ears throughout the land, perplexed and discouraged,
That gathered here, beneath the Christian wing,
God's people daily meet to pray and sing
To Him Who can the dark unrest assuage,
Guide troubled hearts amid the throbbing rage.
Ever, ever kindle prayer and praise
Alike in darkest or in brighter days.

"Tell out that whilst the world seems bent on strife at home, abroad,
Undaunted hearts believe that Life and Light
One Lord, one Faith, all people shall unite,
And in due time to patient faith and prayer
True solvent give for sorrow, want, and care.
Ever, ever kindle prayer and praise
Alike in darkest or in brightest days."

This sermon was preached in York Minster 6 June 1926.

YORK MINSTER BELLS:

Part II

Beckwith Peal and Big Peter

"Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and for ever."
Hebrews xiii. 8.

On a previous occasion, in trying to put on record the story of the Minster bells, I paused at the mention of the great fire in May 1840. I now take up the tale from that point. That great disaster involved the destruction of the four floors of the south-west tower, of the roof, of the clock, of the peal of ten bells, and of the old prayer bell of 1492; but without delay steps were taken by the Dean and Chapter to repair the damage; £23,000 were raised by subscription, and within four years the necessary work of reparation was finished. The south tower was made, as it now is, fireproof. Its floors were laid on iron girders and stone landings. That for the bells was built on arches above the girders. On these the bell-frame now rests. A new tenor bell weighing fifty-three hundredweights was obtained by Dean Cockburn and the Chapter. Then in 1843 Dr. Beckwith died, and by his will left £46,000 to the Minster, Museum, and other public institutions in the city, including £2,000 to be applied for providing a new set of twelve bells. There was soon erected to his memory a table-tomb with a recumbent marble effigy on the top and panelled sides

on which his bequests are recorded. It still stands in the north transept. The figure is described by an authority as "grave and dignified, as in a restful attitude, with a calm and pensive expression of countenance and amongst the best efforts of a sculptor's art," the sculptor being J. R. Leyland, of Halifax. A new peal (commonly called after him, the Beckwith peal) was cast in 1844 by Messrs. Mears, of London, including the tenor, recast five years later. There was no inscription on any of these except the makers' names. But on the eleventh was added :

Soli Deo Gloria
Anno Domini MDCCCXLIII
Regni Victoriæ Britanniarum
Reginæ Septimo
Archiepiscopatus Edwardi Archiep
Ebor XXXVII
Stephanus Beckwith
Medicinæ Doctor inter Eboracenses
Primarius
Testamento legavit.

This peal was rung for the first time on 4 July 1844, and for the last time on 4 May 1913. In that year the bells were taken down by Messrs. Warner, of London, and were returned fitted with iron headstocks and new bearings. They were rehung in 1914. As altered, they were rung for the first time on 1 May 1914, and for the last time on 3 January 1925, and then sent to Loughborough to be recast. Their transformation has now been completed, they are in their appointed places and duly dedicated, and are being rung, and, I hope, much appreciated.

I must not linger, but pass on to tell the tale of the birth of our Big Peter. When Dr. Beckwith's generous bequest became known, a suggestion was made that a bourdon bell, with a deep, dominant note, would be a desirable addition to the peal. This proposal was

warmly taken up, and it was agreed that the subscription already then in progress should be applied to this purpose. Two thousand pounds was accordingly raised, and a like sum was expended by the Dean and Chapter for the reception of the monster bell to be placed in a chamber of the north-west tower. Our Big Peter is the result. It is one of the principal possessions of the Cathedral and a valuable asset of the city. As such it is said to be the second largest church bell in this country, and it seems to me desirable that some of the salient facts in regard to it should be noted for the sake of those who may not know them, and for those who may come after us. It was cast at the foundry of Messrs. Mears, at Whitechapel, the birthplace of the great bell of Montreal, of the Great Tom of Lincoln, and of the great bell of St. Paul's, London. There were seventeen tons of metal prepared for its construction. It was run into the mould in seven and one-half minutes. It took fourteen days to cool before it was uncovered and could be removed. It is said to be one of the most remarkable pieces of gigantic casting known. Its height is 7 feet 4 inches without the stock. Its diameter at the mouth is 8 feet 4 inches. Its thickness at the sounding curve is 7 inches. Its clapper, made of wrought iron, of Yorkshire manufacture, weighs four and a quarter hundredweights. Its weight is ten tons fifteen hundredweights. But it is not the largest bell in the kingdom. The largest is Big Ben of Westminster, which weighs sixteen tons. Our Big Peter is heavier by four tons than Great Tom of Oxford, heavier by six tons than the celebrated Tom of Lincoln, and by nearly eight tons than the large bell of St. Paul's, formerly called Great Tom of Westminster. The arms of the Minster and of the city are placed on each side of it. Near the base is an ornamental ring with a series of the initial letter P for Peter, the cross keys and Yorkshire

roses interlacing and repeated. It bears round the lip the following inscription in Lombardic characters :

> In sanctæ et æternæ Trinitatis honorem
> Pecunia sponte collata, Eboracenses
> Faciendum curaverunt
> Ecclesiæ Metrop B. Petri, Ebor in usum.

and round the rim :

> Anno Salutis MDCCCXLV Victoria Reg. VIII
> Edwardis Archiep XXXVIII C. & G.
> Mears. Londin fecerunt.

Its note is E. The oaken stock on which it is fixed weighs, with the bolts, three tons. It is struck by a hammer fixed on a lever, worked by the hand. On each side of the axle is a wheel 14 feet in diameter. It is stated that by this imperfect mode its powers can never be fully developed. This monster bell, after its completion, was exhibited in London. It was shown in a picture in the *Illustrated London News* of that time, and visited by crowds of people who paid to see it. It was sent by railway, and arrived at York on June 17. The next day it was drawn to the Cathedral, decorated with small flags and preceded by a band of music and a large concourse of people. Meanwhile, the Beckwith peal announced and welcomed the coming of their big brother, for it was the day of commemorating the Battle of Waterloo. But, arrived at the west end of the Minster, he lay silent awaiting his ascent. At length the central pillar of the west door was removed to make way for its entry. It was afterwards securely and skilfully hung, twenty men being required to place it in position.

Big Peter now hangs alone in solemn state in the north-west tower in a chamber approached by fifty steep steps. It was first attempted to be completely rung by twenty men 16 July 1926, but without success, and again on August 23 by thirty men, and repeatedly

since, but always without success. It is now struck by a man lifting a huge hammer fixed on a lever at the hour of twelve every day, at the end of the year, and at the death or funeral of important public persons or dignitaries of the Cathedral. Then it is tolled for one hour. I have been present in the chamber when Big Peter was being rung and was almost stunned by the terrific vibration. The sound-waves can be physically felt as they reach the face and hands and the more sensitive parts of the body. A print of it hangs in our Treasury, which enables us by contrast to realise its enormous dimensions. It is shown there, placed on a trolley, drawn by a horse and attended by a man. In comparison with these objects its size, height, and bulk seem to be gigantic. It should be noted our Big Peter must not be confounded with another famous bell of similar name, Great Peter of Gloucester, said to be the most ancient of all large English bells, dating from about A.D. 1400 and weighing less than three tons.

But all these monsters are only pygmies compared with some bells in the far East. One was made at Moscow in 1736, though broken in the casting. It is called Karakol, or the Czar Bell. It weighs nearly two hundred tons and is estimated to have cost over £66,000, gold and silver being thrown in as offerings by pious Russians. It now forms the dome of a chapel. The largest bell actually used, weighing one hundred and twenty-eight tons, is or was at Moscow. There is also one in Peking weighing fifty-three tons. But by far the largest and heaviest bell in Europe and used is the super-giant at Cologne Cathedral that weighs twenty-seven and one-half tons. It was cast in 1874 and made out of the guns captured by the Germans from the French. May we not hope that this significant transformation may in God's Providence be a partial fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy that the

" people shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: neither shall they learn war any more."

An expert authority to whom we are greatly indebted recently wrote: " Alas! Big Peter is musically the worst of all English bells. It is useless. It cannot be rung. It is not connected with the clock." He adds: " A bourdon of smaller tone and calibre has just gone to Bristol University." Such a bell is easily rung by two men without the slightest strain upon the tower. The new Peter would be in E flat, the dominant of the peal and of its exact pitch the lowest in the country. Its deep but soft and musical notes would be inexpressibly grand rolling forth over the city from the lofty tower. £4,000 has already been raised, but to effect this improvement £500 is still required, and there is good reason to believe that this sum will be forthcoming as well as what is needed to pay for the work already done. Here let me state that amongst the donors to our Bell Fund are fourteen bell-ringers who have themselves given a bell, and our Minster choristers who have raised over £16. Doubtless there are others who may be able and willing to help towards the desired completion of this good cause.[1]

Such, friends, so far as I know, is the story of our Minster bells and our hopes for the future. And now, as one looks back and reflects upon the many centuries throughout which, " without either speech or language," as my former text stated, " their voices have been heard," one is impressed with the many changes and vicissitudes through which the bells have passed from the date of their original casting. Yet throughout all the changes of the years they have heralded one

[1] The requisite funds have now (December 1926) been raised, and Big Peter has been sent away and is soon to be recast and brought up to date in all respects, and rehung.

and the same blessed sound to those who have ears to hear, minds to understand, and wills to heed. At sundry times and in divers manners they have always bespoken the " praise and honour and glory " of that Name which is above every name, that of "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and for ever." Call to mind the changes they have heralded in successive lines of sovereigns and dynasties that have governed England from Saxon times ; onward through Norman, Plantagenet, Yorkist, Lancastrian, Tudor, Stuart, and Commonwealth to Hanoverian, Georgian, and present times, those of the Guelphs or Windsors. But above all temporary earthly rulers, Supreme and Almighty there has been and is one Eternal and only Potentate, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Whose Kingdom shall have no end, Jesus Christ the same now and for ever. Then as one thinks of the constant changes that have taken place amongst those who have held the highest offices in this Minster throughout our long lines of Archbishops and Deans, whose enthronements and installations and whose passing away the bells have notified, we rejoice to know that all were members of the same Holy Catholic Church, built upon the sure foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, of which the head corner-stone is Jesus Christ.

When the bells have rung to commemorate events of national importance, such as great battles like Waterloo or Vimy Ridge, or the relief of beleaguered garrisons as at Ladysmith in the Boer War, we hope they may have reminded some listeners of Him to Whom is " the greatness and the power and the majesty and the victory," and have led some to render thanks to God, " Who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." When they have pealed forth on the arrival of his Majesty's Judges to hold the Assizes for the administration of justice, have they not suggested to some the solemn thought of

Him before Whose judgment seat on the great white Throne every one of us must one day stand, even Jesus Christ? As we think of the many ordinary and recurring services on Sundays, holy days, and weekdays, on which they have summoned the congregation to worship in this "holy and beautiful house," bear in mind that they all centre in and lead up to Him Who is first and last and midst, even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. When they have rung to celebrate any notable birthday, have they not been struck in glad recognition of the Babe of Bethlehem, the Incarnate Son of God, the Lord and Giver of all Life? Whenever they have merrily acclaimed the joining together of man and woman in the bonds of holy matrimony, have they not inarticulately told of Him Who adorned and beautified that honourable estate by His presence and first miracle at Cana in Galilee, and though now seated at the right hand of God in the perfection of His glorified humanity, vouchsafes His spiritual presence and blessing as the source of true love and lasting joy?

Further, whenever the bells have called the faithful to the offering of the chief act of Christian worship at the Holy Communion, have they not told of the power and presence of Him Who said, "I am the Bread of Life: Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life," and Who, risen indeed, was known of the disciples in the breaking of bread? "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

Finally, as Big Peter from time to time announces the passing of a soul from the life that is to the life unseen, or when it tolls at a solemn memorial service, the cheering message may be brought home to our inmost spirits from Him Who said, "I am the Resurrection, and the Life: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever believeth in Me shall never die," certifying His claim

by His glorious Resurrection and Ascension, even Jesus Christ.

So, friends, on all occasions when we hear our Minster or any other church bells, let us, as George Herbert suggests :

> " Think when bells do chime
> 'Tis angels' music,
> Therefore come in time."

Further, let us always strive in lively faith and with sanctified spirits to listen to their voices and lift up our hearts unto the Lord. Then at length the hour will come when we can no longer hear any earthly sounds or attend any earthly places of worship. But who can describe the sounds and the voices that will reach us when we pass within the veil ? May there not be real underlying spiritual truth in Bunyan's beautiful allegory when he says, " As the pilgrims approached the Heavenly City, they thought they heard all the bells ringing to welcome them " ? Akin to this is the teaching of the Koran, which tells the Mohammedans that " bells hang on the trees of Paradise and are set in motion by winds from the Throne of God as often as the blessed wish for music." But be these only fond flights of fancy, we Christians may look forward to hearing the sounds of " harpers harping with their harps, and holy voices saying : Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive honour, and glory, and blessing. Alleluia ! Amen."

This sermon was preached in York Minster 24 October 1926.

XXI

ST. HILDA

"Who can find a virtuous woman? Her price is far above rubies. . . . She girdeth her loins with strength. . . . Her lamp goeth not out by night. . . . She reacheth forth her hands to the needy. . . . Strength and dignity are her clothing. . . . She openeth her mouth with wisdom. The law of kindness is in her tongue. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children rise up, and call her blessed. . . . Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all. Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain: but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised. Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her works praise her in the gates."—PROVERBS xxxi. 10 et seq.

I USE these words as applicable to St. Hilda of holy and famous memory, for this twenty-fifth of August is one of her festival days, and until recent times was a day of much observance in the ancient town of Whitby. Our King Henry II, in 1168, by Royal charter, granted that a feast and fair should then be held in her honour. This grant was confirmed by his successor, Richard I, in 1190. Why this particular date was chosen is uncertain. It is thought by some to have been the day of her birth, and by others the day of the translation of her remains to Glastonbury, about the time of the Danish invasion. But there is no historical evidence as to the truth of either of these statements. Another day for her commemoration was also set apart, namely, November 19, the date of her death. Anyway, it seems appropriate that I should briefly invite your attention to some of the facts and lessons of her life.

There are those who, like Thomas Fuller, regard her as "the most learned woman who lived before the

Norman Conquest"; and the same quaint author describes her as "the She Gamaliel at whose feet many learned men had their education." She was sprung of the Royal Family of Northumbria, born in 614 and in stormy times, when her father and mother were exiles. In her childhood her father died a violent death, and she was taken for refuge to the home of her great-uncle, King Edwin. Up to this time she had been a heathen and was living amidst heathen surroundings. But then came the favourable opportunity. She and other courtiers were brought into contact with Archbishop Paulinus. After suitable instruction, she embraced the Christian faith, and, together with King Edwin and others, was baptised, at the age of thirteen, on Easter Day, at a primitive church in York, built on the site of our present York Minster.

I cannot refrain from asking you to note the age at which Hilda became a devoted Christian and the influence by which it was brought about. They have an important bearing upon the subject of religious education. There was Paulinus to teach the faith—an experienced teacher with burning zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of souls, one who yearned to bring people to the fold of Christ; and there was amongst his pupils an intelligent girl of impressionable age who could think for herself and decide for herself. I take it that the strong foundations were then laid of her godly life and Christian character. Parents and others, ponder this. At the age of thirteen or thereabouts our young people are usually prepared for Confirmation, when hearts and minds and spirits can best be turned in the right direction; when they should be ready, able, and willing to be well instructed in the articles of the Christian faith, and when, by God's grace, they may receive such help and strength as may affect the whole course of their after-life. I am sure that we clergy and other teachers

cannot lay too much stress upon the importance of a right start at the right time, and that right early.

Then, note further, that not long after her baptism, Hilda had the advantage of being brought under the pastoral care of St. Aidan, the Apostle of Northumbria and Bishop of Lindisfarne. It is, I think, clear that she was indebted to him for some of the special habits of life and traits of character for which she was conspicuous, as well as for those Celtic traditions, such as the time for keeping Easter, which he himself had learnt at Iona and from its great founder St. Columba. You can imagine what must have been the natural effect upon a pious and gifted maiden, who had recently embraced the Christian faith, of being frequently visited by a Father-in-God eminent for his piety, self-denial, simplicity of life, his great zeal for the glory of God, and his unwearying labours to spread the glad tidings of salvation. Further note, we are told that all who followed him were under an obligation to read the Scriptures and learn the Psalter.

So Hilda grew up to womanhood in the midst of the court, with all its attractions and distractions. Yet for the first half of her life, indeed until she was thirty-three (Bede tells us), "she lived most nobly among her family and fellow-citizens." Then there came to her a special call which she took to being "inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost" to give up her position and surroundings in the world and devote herself wholly, body, soul, and spirit, to the cause of the Lord and of His Church in a life of retirement within a religious community.

Accordingly, in or about the year 647, Hilda removed to East Anglia, whose King had married her then widowed sister. She was preparing to join her in one of the religious houses in France on the banks of the River Somme. In the midst of this preparation her friend St. Aidan recalled her to her own home in

Northumbria and settled her with a few companions on the banks of the Wear. Then he transferred her to take charge of the Abbey at Heruteu or Hartlepool, where nine more years were spent.

At length came the signal victory over Penda, the heathen King of Mercia, followed by the fulfilment of Oswy's vow whereby he had promised to dedicate his infant daughter Aelfleda and twelve Royal manors to the service of God and His Church. Amongst the manors was that of Whitby, then called Streoneshalh. Who so fitting to undertake the organisation of a new religious community and to have charge of the infant Princess as Oswy's Royal relative, Hilda?

Accordingly, she comes to this spot in 658, and founds our Anglo-Saxon monastery upon the lines then customary. It comprised both men and women, living, of course, in separate domiciles, but meeting together for the purposes of worship, work, and instruction. The Abbey became a school in which the Holy Scriptures were read, taught, and transcribed; where learning and the arts were cultivated; a workshop where useful industries were practised; and, later on, an infirmary where the sick and suffering were nursed; an almonry where the poor were relieved; and a guest-house where travellers were hospitably lodged.

There, as Montalembert writes, this Princess exercised her true reign, temporal and spiritual. She displayed a rare capacity for the government of souls, for the love of ecclesiastical order and zeal for religion. She was sought far and wide by those who would learn the secrets of divine love and wisdom that dwelt in her. Kings and princes came to consult her, and witnessed joyfully to the enlightenment they had received. She did not reserve for the great ones of the earth the treasures of her judgment and charity. She scattered around her everywhere the benefits of justice, piety, peace, and temperance. She was honoured, and

addressed by the sweet name of Mother. Not only at home, but in distant regions, to which the fame of her virtue penetrated, she was to many the instrument of their conversion and salvation. She secured to her community the supremacy of order, union, charity, and equality, so that it became usual to say to the proud Northumbrians that the image of the primitive Church (wherein were neither rich nor poor, and where all was common among Christians) was realised at Whitby. A passionate tenderness was felt for her by her spiritual daughters, and she inspired amongst her pupils so true a love of sacred literature and so careful a study of the Scriptures that this abbey became a school for missionaries and bishops. Many dignitaries, as remarkable for their virtue as for their learning, were sent forth from it. Amongst them were St. John of York, Beverley, and Hexham, Oella of Dorchester, Oftor of Worcester, and Wilfrid of York, the second of that name.

Then, be it remembered, it was to St. Hilda that we owe the discovery and the training of the simple cowherd Caedmon, who under her fostering care and able instruction developed his once latent gifts of sacred song, so that he became " the father of English poetry." The life's work of St. Hilda testifies to her earnest and devoted efforts to instruct all who came within her influence in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the articles of the Christian faith. If we Whitby people and others here are to be worthy of the place in which we sojourn, we must see to it that our rising generation is brought up to know and believe the Word of God and hold fast to the faith once delivered to the saints.

It was in the midst of St. Hilda's rule here that the famous Synod of Whitby was held. At this assembly, as you doubtless know, certain differences were discussed and settled, not as to the doctrines, but as to

some of the customs of the Church—such as the exact time when Easter should be kept. Suffice it to say that whilst St. Hilda was firmly attached to the traditions she had received from her spiritual fathers, such as Aidan and Colman, she loyally accepted the verdict of the majority. Though a person of strong views and resolute will, she was free from obstinacy and narrow-mindedness, and for the sake of peace and unity gave up her personal preferences to promote the welfare of the Church. Surely, friends, in this respect she has left an example which it would be well to lay to heart and act upon. One is thankful to know that there is a growing disposition amongst the scattered bodies of Christians to deepen this unity of spirit and strengthen the bonds of peace. But there is yet much room for their wider extension and more practical and recognised development.

So, for some twenty-five years, until the year 680, St. Hilda continued her beneficent work. Then came the sore trial of a lingering illness, in the form of a recurring fever accompanied by increasing weakness and weariness. Throughout all these six long years (Bede relates) she never failed either to return thanks to her Maker or publicly and privately to instruct her flock. She admonished all persons to serve God dutifully in perfect health and return thanks to Him in adversity or bodily infirmity. In the seventh year of her sickness, the distemper turning inwards, she drew near her last day, and at cockcrow, having received Holy Communion to further her on her way, she called together the servants of Christ within her monastery. She admonished them to preserve evangelical peace among themselves and with all others. As she was speaking she joyfully saw death approaching, or, in the words of our Lord, "passed from death to life."

Such in outline was the life and work of the saintly

lady we commemorate today. It sets before us in striking relief an object-lesson of what a godly woman can become and accomplish by the grace of God. I speak to mothers, sisters, and daughters. You may not have the many natural advantages of royal birth and exceptional gifts which St. Hilda possessed, but these are not the essentials of a life of influence and saintliness. In common with St. Hilda, you have the same Lord to know and to love, the same Holy Spirit to enlighten and guide you to take of the things of Christ and show them to you, and the same Church and State to serve and edify. You may live in the world and family, and yet above the world. You may devote yourselves with earnest self-surrender to the service of God, your King, and your country. In your homes and households you may be bright and blessed centres, radiating beams of love and peace, order and happiness, to all around. You may be characterised by prayerfulness and humility, purity, self-denial, and diligence.

As women, you possess these royal gifts—tenderness and sympathy and tact and power of inspiring others and evolving what is best in others—so conspicuous in St. Hilda. Never has there been a time in the history of our country and Church when your gifts and influence were so much needed as now. Never have there been a wider scope and more favourable opportunities for the exercise of your gifts. The future of our Church and country and empire, and indeed of the world, depends largely upon the women and upon the mothers of the rising generation. God help them to rise to the occasion and fulfil their rightful vocation and ministry. May they throw themselves whole-heartedly into the great cause of education interpreted in its widest and truest sense.

But, friends, we are one and all called to be saints. We can all live a godly life and devote ourselves to

the duties of citizenship and churchmanship. We should one and all be taking our part in advancing real religious education upon true national lines. May I add that some of us in this spot of renowned historical associations have been trying to carry on, in some degree, the kind of work to which St. Hilda lent herself. It seems almost a bathos to ask for alms in support of our Church schools. Yet I am in duty bound so to do. In years past, generous help has been given, and so far we have weathered all storms and flourished. What the future may have in store for us in connection with the working of the new Education Act—which (so far as it goes) we cordially welcome—I know not. But come what may, may the example and spirit of St. Hilda stimulate us to hand on to others—so far as in us lies—the Light of Everlasting Life.

Note.—A figure of St. Hilda is represented in the St. Cuthbert Window in the south transept of York Minster.

This sermon was preached on St. Hilda's Day, 25 August 1918, in the morning at St. Mary's Parish Church, Whitby, and in the evening at St. Hilda's Church, West Cliff.

XXII

BOY BISHOPS

Amongst the singular institutions that prevailed in York in days gone by was that of the Boy Bishop, or Bishop of the Bairns or little ones. He is otherwise described as Bishop of the Innocents, Bishop of the Choristers, Child Bishop, Bishop Nicholas. The names of forty-five Boy Bishops at York and twenty-two at Salisbury are already known. Their peculiar office was established throughout all England, in the cathedrals, in the parish churches in town and country, in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in the Public Schools of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and in some of the monasteries.

The institution of Boy Bishops is said to have originated in the festival of the Roman Saturnalia, and after passing through various changes on the Continent and elsewhere, in connection with the Feast of Fools, it settled down into a set of quaint and curious ecclesiastical customs. These are first recorded to have been observed at Salisbury very early in the thirteenth century. From there they spread far and wide in different places and at different times, but generally proceeded upon lines somewhat as follows. They began on St. Nicholas' Day. He was the patron saint of school-boys, sailors, travellers, merchants, and pawnbrokers. This is an odd combination of personalities and opens out some interesting and amusing stories and legends which should be inquired into by those who have leisure. However, the tale of his life is outlined in the first window of the south aisle of the

nave in York Minster and in the splendidly embroidered altar frontal in the St. Nicholas' Chapel in our north transept. In our Church Calendar December sixth is assigned for the special commemoration of this saint.

On that day the boys of the choir or grammar school met together to choose one of their number to be a sort of mock bishop. His appointment had to be confirmed by the Dean and Chapter or other authority. His qualifications are differently described in different places. He might be the boy who had served longest or who had been the best-behaved or the most useful. He might be the one thought to be the best-looking and most capable. Anyway, he must have a good voice. His attendants, generally about nine or ten in number, were regarded as Canons, and one of them was styled the Precentor. During his period of office he was treated with the reverence and respect usually shown to the real bishop. He had a chaplain and was conducted about with the customary ceremony. He wore the episcopal dress, which at one time at York included a cope of tissue. He wore a miniature mitre of gold cloth set with precious stones. He carried a pastoral staff and wore a ring in which was a large stone. His companions were habited ; some as priests, some as deacons, and others as sub-deacons or holders of inferior offices. The boys then changed places in the church with the canons and others. They occupied the Canons' stalls and the Canons occupied the boys' seats on the lower level. In like manner the order generally observed in the procession was reversed, the dignitaries went first and the Boy Bishop last, and vice versa on their return. It was the duty of the Boy Bishop to procure the rushes for use at Christmastide and Epiphany. He conducted certain parts of the public offices, took some portions of the service of Holy Communion, and indeed gave the blessing.

It may be interesting to quote here the form of blessing as given in the York Minster Statutes. The cross-bearer takes the Boy Bishop's staff and, turning to him, begins this anthem : " Prince of the Church, Shepherd of the Sheepfold, vouchsafe to bless thy people." Then turning to the people he says : " With gentleness and charity, humble yourselves for the blessing." Then he hands the Boy Bishop his staff, and the Boy Bishop, first crossing himself on the forehead, says : " Our help is in the name of the Lord." Then turning to the clergy he lifts his staff and says, " I sign you with the sign of the Cross." Then turning to the people, " Our help be in Him Who has bought us and redeemed us " (placing his hand on his breast) " with the price of his Flesh." Afterwards the Boy Bishop says Compline like a priest and delivers the blessing : " Almighty God bless you, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

There were three days of special observance during his reign, viz., the three days following Christmas. St. Stephen's Day was kept as the feast of the deacons, St. John the Evangelist's Day as that of the priests, and Holy Innocents or Childermas as that of the choristers in general. On that day he attended his church in full state and preached a sermon not necessarily of his own composition.

Three of these boy-sermons are extant. One of them, a " Concio de Puero," was written by Erasmus, the eminent scholar, and preached at St. Paul's by a boy of St. Paul's School. The text was " Praise ye the Lord, O ye servants, boys." In another, also delivered at St. Paul's, the preacher, after touching on the innocency of childhood and on Holy Innocents, proceeded with the Bidding Prayer, in which intercession is asked for " the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Reverend Father and Worshipful Lord, my brother, the Bishop of London, your Diocesan, my

Worshipful brother, the Dean, and others" ; he asks that he may never be troubled with the rod, bids his hearers "become as little children," touches on the bad manners of the children and the choristers and insists that parents should take greater care to correct their children. On these occasions the churches were often gaily decorated, and the Boy Bishop and his attendants went to them in state, accompanied by his Precentor and other Boy Canons. He was afterwards conducted to his home with much ceremony, riding on a horse and wearing the episcopal gloves and ecclesiastical cap. There was also another special feast-day for the sub-deacons and others holding minor offices.

Moreover, the Boy Bishop was entitled to certain emoluments. On his appointment each of the other boys had to give him a penny. The Treasurer sometimes gave him ten pounds. A like sum is said to have been given to one of the Boy Bishops when he said Vespers in the presence of the King. At another time King Edward I gave him forty shillings. The City of York gave him ten shillings. If any prebendal stall fell vacant during his term of office, he made the presentation.

He had also the right to hold a formal visitation. A horse was provided for him, and he went on his journey accompanied by his official retinue of about ten boys. At York he visited the different districts of the city and then many of the neighbouring parishes. Sometimes he travelled as far as Leeds, Beverley, and Bridlington. Offerings of money and food were given to him and his companions, and always a good supper was required, with a dessert of nuts and cakes. The Dean and Canons also were expected to provide suppers for the party. In one of the York account books interesting details are given of the money and viands contributed. In 1396, £8 15*s.* 3*d.* was collected, but

the expenses were £6 14*s.*, so there was apparently an exceptionally small balance. It appears that on this occasion the Boy Bishop travelled with a seneschal, several singers, and a servant. Their principal journey lasted a fortnight. The oblations on Christmas Day and Holy Innocents and the collection from the dignitaries at the Minster realised £2 15*s.* 5*d.* In the city of York they got ten shillings and outside £5 10*s.* The most generous contribution was from the Countess of Northumberland, who gave twenty shillings and a gold ring. And amongst expenses we find a supper given by the Bishop cost 15*s.* 6½*d.* (purchased meals had to supplement hospitality) ; horse-hire and stable expenses, cost of shoeing horses, mending a girth, horsecombs, spurs, lambswool for overcoat, candles to be borne in procession, gloves bought for presents to vicars and masters of schools, fees to minor cathedral officials.

If the Boy Bishop died during his term of office he was honoured with a proper episcopal funeral. It is said that at Salisbury and elsewhere there may still be seen a small effigy of one such Boy Bishop, though there are differences of opinion on this subject.

Now it may well be asked : What did all this mean ? Had it any real use ? How is it to be accounted for ? Shall we brand it as profanity, mockery, an unpardonable trifling with sacred rites and offices ? We must not condemn too hastily. We must guard against judging the institutions of mediæval times by modern standards. It is not easy for us to transfer ourselves in thought into the conditions of life some five hundred years ago. There were no books, no printing, not much reading or writing. How were people to be taught, especially boys and girls ? Through their eyes and ears. Most children have an instinctive liking to dress up and act in little plays. Most of us in earlier life have tried to personate a soldier or a

doctor or a clergyman. Maybe we have without leave even borrowed some of their official clothes.

Can we not then understand how the ecclesiastical authorities would take advantage of this natural instinct and try to turn it to some practical educational use? And remember, in those days education was entirely in the hands of the Church. Hence doubtless sacred narratives, mystery plays, and religious dramas began to be acted. I doubt whether any who may have seen the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau would question its solemnising and elevating influence. Surely in like manner some effect akin to this might be and is still brought about by reverent representations of scenes from the Nativity of our Blessed Lord, and be it noted the institution of the Boy Bishops centred round Christmas and His holy childhood and commemorations associated with His infancy and the Slaughter of the Innocents at Bethlehem, and those saintly men who might be deemed as witnessing to Christ in life and in death, St. John the Divine, the Apostle of love, and St. Stephen, the first martyr. I take it that the celebrations in connection with the Boy Bishop institution would tend to stamp with an indelible mark the great truth and doctrine of the Incarnation.

Furthermore, we may note the educational value of the Boy-Bishop customs in their teaching some of the chief historical features of Church government and administration and the distribution and duties of the various ecclesiastical offices. And not least of all, the boys would find out from their own experiences the difficulties sometimes attendant upon maintaining discipline and order, and be better able to sympathise with their authorities and seniors in dealing with the troubles which they themselves caused from time to time. It may be questioned whether the ordinary chorister or schoolboy of our own days with all our educational books and appliances is really so well

acquainted with details of Church government and order as were the boys of those centuries gone by.

There is another important and useful purpose which these quaint celebrations must have served. They must have provided a great deal of necessary recreation and amusement. There was no cricket, no football, no lawn-tennis in those days. One wonders what were the popular games and pastimes then cultivated. The lot of schoolboys was really a hard one. The discipline was strict, the punishments severe. The constant and long Church services and practices must have involved no little strain. What we call holidays were then more or less holy days, involving additional services, beginning early and often ending late, and leaving little time for play.

It is no wonder that the election and reign of the Boy Bishop were looked forward to with joy and expectation. No wonder that now and then liberty developed into licence, and that shameful misconduct and gross irreverence led even to riot and rebellion. Something of this kind must have caused the Dean and Chapter of Wells in the fourteenth century to forbid any further proceedings of the Boy Bishop in that Cathedral. On the other hand, Colet, the famous Dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School in the early part of the sixteenth century, commended the custom of the Boy Bishop as not a farce but likely to be useful. However, the days of this curious institution were then numbered. The Reformation was at hand. The Church of England and the people of England were bent on putting an end to anything that savoured of abuse or possible superstition. So in 1541 King Henry VIII issued a proclamation that ran thus : " Forbidding the making counterfeit priests and bishops, blessing the people and preaching in the pulpit, together with other unfitting usages, rather to the derision than any true glory

of God: so the King commandeth that from henceforth all such observances be extinguished." Though this proclamation was countermanded under Queen Mary, and for a time these observances were renewed and became popular, they were ended in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They were not finally abolished in France till 1721, and are said to be still observed on Christmas Eve at the Propaganda College in Rome.

A revival of this ancient custom, in suitable and modified form, has recently taken place at Eton and Westminster and in several parishes, amongst them at Berden, in Essex, at which the Diocesan, the Bishop of Chelmsford, was present. What then took place is briefly thus described. Previous to Boy Bishop service the Bishop was present at the Chapter of the Children's Guild, at which the Boy Bishop was elected and installed in the chair of St. Nicholas. A procession was then formed to the church. The service was conducted almost entirely by the children themselves. The first Lesson (Ecclesiastes xii.) was read by last year's Boy Bishop and the second Lesson (Luke x. 30–7) by the Boy Bishop for this year. After the Third Collect the children acted a mystery play in front of the chancel arch, which is an act from the Life of St. Nicholas. The Boy Bishop took the part of St. Nicholas and gave a recitation at the end. Then the Bishop of Chelmsford gave an address and said it was a pleasure to him to come for this ancient and interesting ceremony, so much of mediæval Church life was beautiful and helpful. It was a happy thing for the children that they could manage their own service in church and do their bit. He was impressed that when the Boy Bishop was invested by the Vicar with the three golden balls, he was told that they were symbols of prayer, self-sacrifice, and hard work. He reminded the congregation that St. Nicholas was the patron saint of children,

sailors, pawnbrokers, and thieves (four classes who all need special help), and he hoped the traditions of St. Nicholas would foster a spirit of generous helpfulness in the children and people of the parish.

We may well think that the revival of such services on reverent lines and under proper authority will tend to the glory of God and the building up of the rising generation on our most holy faith.

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